

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS
EASTERN DIVISION**

DAN McCONCHIE, <i>et al.</i> ,)	
)	
Plaintiffs,	)	Case No. 1:21-CV-03091
v.)	
	)	Circuit Judge Michael B. Brennan
CHARLES SCHOLZ, <i>et al.</i>,	)	Chief District Judge Jon E. DeGuilio
	)	District Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr.
Defendants,)	
	)	Three-Judge Court
	)	Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 2284(a)
)	

JULE CONTRERAS, <i>et al.</i> ,)	
)	
Plaintiffs,	)	Case No. 1:21-CV-03139
v.)	
	)	Circuit Judge Michael B. Brennan
ILLINOIS STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS, <i>et al.</i>,	)	Chief District Judge Jon E. DeGuilio
	)	District Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr.
Defendants,)	
	)	Three-Judge Court
	)	Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 2284(a)
)	

EAST ST. LOUIS BRANCH NAACP, <i>et al.</i> ,)	
)	
Plaintiffs,	)	Case No. 1:21-CV-05512
v.)	
	)	Circuit Judge Michael B. Brennan
ILLINOIS STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS, <i>et al.</i> ,)	Chief District Judge Jon E. DeGuilio
)	District Judge Robert M. Dow, Jr.
Defendants,)	
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DEFENDANTS' MOTION FOR LEAVE TO FILE
CORRECTED EXPERT REPORT OF DR. LICHTMAN

NOW COME Defendants Don Harmon, in his official capacity as President of the Illinois Senate, the Office of the President of the Illinois Senate, Emanuel “Chris” Welch, in his official capacity as Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, and the Office of the Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives (collectively, “Defendants”), pursuant to Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and the Local Rules of this Court, respectfully file this motion for leave to file a Corrected Expert Report of Dr. Lichtman, previously filed as Exhibit 1 to Defendants’ Responsive Statement [*Contreras* Dkt. 155-1, *McConchie* Dkt. 160-1, *NAACP* Dkt. 54-1]. The only changes to the Exhibit are corrections to minor clerical errors in the tables and charts depicted on pages 72-77 of Dr. Lichtman’s report. The amended version of Dr. Lichtman’s report is attached hereto as Exhibit A. This amended version of Dr. Lichtman’s report was previously provided to Plaintiffs on December 4, 2021.

WHEREFORE, Defendants respectfully request that the Court grant them leave to file their Corrected Expert Report of Dr. Lichtman, attached hereto as Exhibit A.

Dated: December 6, 2021

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Exhibit A

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EXPERT REPORT OF ALLAN J. LICHTMAN

I. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

In this case, I have been asked by Defendants' counsel to examine issues related to the complaints filed by the MALDEF (Contreras), McConchie, and NAACP plaintiffs regarding the state legislative plans enacted by the Illinois General Assembly on August 31, 2021 (S.B. 927) and signed into law by the Governor J.B. Pritzker in September 2021. I have also been asked to respond to any material presented by plaintiffs, including complaints and reports submitted by plaintiffs' experts. Rather than produce separate reports for each of three plaintiffs, I have produced a single report because there is considerable overlap in the three complaints. I will draw distinctions, where necessary, between the various reports.

I have enclosed an updated CV which fairly and accurately describes my training, education, and experience (Appendix 1). I have also included a table of cases where I have served as an expert witness and consultant since 2015 (Appendix 2). My fee in this matter is \$500 per hour. My fee does not depend upon any opinions issued in this litigation.

I based my analyses and developed opinions in this matter on documentary and statistical information gathered and reviewed in my capacity as an expert in political history, social science, and historical and statistical methodology. My analysis and opinions are also formed by my work as an expert in some 100 voting rights and redistricting cases and my considerable experience in redistricting in Illinois. Both plaintiffs and defendants have retained me during several decades in Illinois. My analyses and opinions are not intended to provide a legal conclusion, but, instead, to provide the court with facts and context for the ultimate legal determinations that it must make.

II. QUALIFICATIONS

This study draws on my experience serving as an expert in voting rights litigation and my expertise in political history, political analysis, and historical and statistical methodology. I am a Distinguished Professor of History at American University in Washington, D.C., where I have been employed for 48 years. Formerly, I served as Chair of the History Department and Associate Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at American University. I received my BA in History from Brandeis University in 1967 and my Ph.D. in History from Harvard University in 1973, with a specialty in American political history and the mathematical analysis of historical data.

I am the author of numerous scholarly works on quantitative methodology in social science. This scholarship includes articles in such academic journals as *Political Methodology*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *Foresight: The International Journal of Applied Forecasting*, *Social Science History*, and *Harvard Data Science Review*. I have also authored articles on quantitative methodology in the *Encyclopedia of Social Measurement*, the *Encyclopedia of Complexity and Systems Science*, and the *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Conceptual Tools For Understanding Nature*. In addition, I have co-authored *Ecological Inference* with Dr. Laura Langbein, a standard text on the quantitative analysis of social science data, including political information.

I have published articles on the application of social science analysis to voting rights issues. This work includes articles in journals such as the *Journal of Law and Politics*, *La Raza Law Journal*, *Evaluation Review*, *Journal of Legal Studies*, and *National Law Journal*. My scholarship also includes the use of quantitative and qualitative methods to conduct

contemporary and historical studies, published in academic journals such as *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *American Historical Review*, *International Journal of Forecasting*, *International Journal of Information Systems & Social Change*, and *Journal of Social History*.

Quantitative and historical analyses also ground my books, including, *Prejudice and the Old Politics: The Presidential Election of 1928*, *The Thirteen Keys to the Presidency* (co-authored with Ken DeCell), *The Keys to the White House*, *White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement*, and *FDR and the Jews* (co-authored with Richard Breitman). My most recent books are *The Case for Impeachment*, *The Embattled Vote in America: From the Founding to the Present* and *Repeal the Second Amendment: The Case for a Safer America*. *The Embattled Vote in America*, published in September 2018 by Harvard University Press, examines the history and current status of voting rights in America. I have also co-authored with Valerie French a book on historical methodology, *Historians the Living Past*.

White Protestant Nation was one of five finalists for the National Book Critics Circle Award for the best general nonfiction book published in America. *FDR and the Jews* was published under the Belknap Imprint of the Harvard University Press, reserved for works of special significance and lasting impact. This book was an editor's choice book of the New York Times in 2013, the winner of the most prestigious prize in American Jewish Studies, the National Jewish Book Award, and a finalist for the Los Angeles Times Book Prize in history. My book *The Case for Impeachment* was an independent bookstore bestseller. In 2018, I won the Alfred Nelson Marquis Life-Time Achievement Award for the top 5% of persons included in Marquis WHO'S WHO. I have also been identified by rise.global as # 85 among the world's 100 most influential geopolitical experts. I am an elected member of PEN America, which is dedicated to

ensuring “that people everywhere have the freedom to create literature, to convey information and ideas, to express their views, and to access the views, ideas, and literatures of others.”¹

I have worked as a consultant or expert witness for both plaintiffs and defendants, Democrats and Republicans, in some 100 voting and redistricting cases. My work includes cases for the United States Department of Justice and many civil rights organizations, including MALDEF, NAACP, LDF, the League of Women Voters, the Southern Poverty Law Center, and the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. I have also worked as a consultant or expert witness numerous times for state and local jurisdictions.

My work also includes several voting rights and redistricting cases in the state of Illinois, for both plaintiffs and defendants. In the 1980s, I was retained by plaintiffs in *Harper v. City of Chicago Heights* and *McNeil v. City of Springfield*. In the 1990s, I was retained by defendants in successful defense of the Hispanic opportunity congressional district in Illinois, *King v. Board of Elections*. In the 2000s I was retained by state defendants in the successful defense of the of 2001 state legislative redistricting plan, *Campuzano v. Illinois State Board of Elections*. In the 2010’s, I was retained by state defendants in their successful defense of the state congressional redistricting plan, *Committee for a Fair and Balanced Map, et al. v. Illinois State Board of Elections*, and the state legislative redistricting plan, *Radogno, et al. v. Illinois State Board of Elections*. I was also retained by defendant Mike Madigan in the successful defense of a challenge to his State House election in 2016, *Jason Gonzales v. Michael J. Madigan*.

The United States Supreme Court has also credited my quantitative methodology. In Texas’s landmark congressional redistricting case, *League of United Latin American Citizens v. Perry*, 548 U.S. 399 (2006), the majority opinion authoritatively cited my statistical work in

¹ PEN America, “About Us,” <https://pen.org/about-us/>.

invalidating Congressional District 23 for violating the Voting Rights Act. Citing my quantitative findings, the court ruled that the district failed to provide adequate opportunities for Hispanics to elect candidates of their choice.

III. DATA AND METHODS

The report draws upon sources standard in historical and social scientific analysis. The sources include scholarly books, articles, and reports; newspaper and other journalistic articles; demographic information; election returns; exit polls and other scientific surveys, court opinions, briefs, and reports, and government documents. Much of the methodology relies on compilations of data on districts and elections, with computation of simple summary statistics such as means or averages. I also rely on standard procedures in my field of history for analyzing documentary material. Unless otherwise indicated, all information on the demography of state legislative districts and precincts, and the racial identity of candidates and incumbents was provided by the staff of the Democratic State House and Senate caucuses. The staff also provided election returns by precinct. All other Illinois election returns were obtained from the website of the Illinois State Board of Elections.²

For the statistical analysis of voting patterns and turnout I rely on ecological regression analysis. This is a standard procedure that I have used many thousands of times to assess racial bloc voting and the effectiveness of legislative districts for minorities. I will describe this method in detail in conjunction with Section 2 of this report on Prong 3 of the three *Gingles* criteria

The report is divided into four distinct sections. Each section will have separately numbered tables and charts to avoid confusion.

² There are some small differences between the demographic district percentages in plaintiffs' complaints and the percentages provided to me. None of these differences are consequential.

**SECTION 1: PLAINTIFFS' MECHANICAL 50% SINGLE-RACE MINORITY
CVAP THRESHOLD**

SECTION 2: *GINGLES* CRITERIA PRONG 3

**SECTION 3: SENATE FACTORS ON THE TOTALITY OF CIRCUMSTANCES
IN ILLINOIS**

SECTION 4: PLAINTIFFS CHALLENGES AND REMEDIES

**SECTION 1: PLAINTIFFS' MECHANICAL 50% SINGLE-RACE MINORITY
CVAP THRESHOLD**

**“...Minority candidates generally cannot be elected in Illinois outside of
districts with a significant portion of minority voters.”**

McConchie Plaintiffs, Brief, 10 November 2021, p. 30

“When *I* use a word,” Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, “it means
just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less.”

Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass*, 1871

“In theory there is no difference between theory and practice. In practice there is.”

Yogi Berra

I. In Practice, Actual Election Results Refute Plaintiffs Theory

The above-cited claim by the McConchie, buried on page 30 of their submission, frames the case for all three plaintiffs. The McConchie, Contreras, and NAACP plaintiffs rest on this claim as a necessary, although not sufficient, proof of their claims. However, plaintiffs are using words precisely as they choose them to mean. By a significant portion of minority voters, they do not mean all minorities. If so, the case would essentially be over. All but one of their challenged districts is majority-minority, not majority white, in its citizen voting age population (CVAP). Plaintiffs mean only minorities of the same race. By “significant concentration” they precisely

mean districts above their pre-selected threshold of 50%+ single-race minority CVAP, regardless of the district-specific practical circumstances or the effects on other districts. SB 927 districts like new Senate District 11 with a 47.9% Hispanic CVAP and 55.3% minority CVAP fail to make the cut as equal opportunity districts for Hispanics. But remedial districts like McConchie's 50.5% Hispanic CVAP remedial district for State House 3 and Contreras' remedial district for State House District 4 at 50.1% Hispanic CVAP because they cross plaintiffs' magic line. For Asian voters, the demography of Illinois do not allow for the creation of a 50%+ Asian CVAP district. So, plaintiffs undercut Asian electoral opportunities by slashing the Asian CVAP percentages in districts that have elected Asian Americans to the state legislature.

The practice of state legislative elections in Illinois contradicts plaintiffs' demography is destiny theory. Actual election results show that some two dozen minorities have won elections in districts where plaintiffs say they should not expect to win, with under 50%+ single-race minority CVAP, often well below. Table 1 demonstrates that not counting two appointed incumbents, minorities have won 24 elections in districts below 50%+ single-race minority CVAP. These are districts where plaintiffs have said minorities should fall short of victory according to their automatic single-race 50%+ standard. Yet, the 24 minority victories in these districts comprise 46.2% of all 52 minority candidate victories in the latest 2020 election cycle.

Also remarkable in practice, Table 1 shows that seven minority candidates (29.2% of the 24 victories) won elections in districts was less than a 25% CVAP percentage of their race. Such victories are unusual and place Illinois at the forefront of states achieving interracial coalitions. In the words of U.S. Supreme Court Justice David Souter minorities can expand representation

when they “pull, haul, and trade” with members of other groups.³ Such coalition building expands minority representation beyond what can be achieved by segregation into heavily minority districts and undercuts the stereotype that minorities are token voters who can only elect

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³ *Johnson v. De Grandy*, 512 U.S. 997 (1994), at 1020.

TABLE 1
MINORITY MEMBERS OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE ELECTED FROM BELOW
50%+ SINGLE-RACE CVAP DISTRICTS

COUNT	CHAMBER	DISTRICT	BLACK CVAP%	INCUMBENT	RACE
BLACK STATE LEGISLATORS, BLACK CVAP %					
1	HD	9	48.0%	Lakesia Collins	BLACK
2	HD	5	47.9%	Lamont J. Robinson, Jr.	BLACK
3	HD	7	47.7%	Emanuel Chris Welch	BLACK
4	SD	5	47.7%	Patricia Van Pelt	BLACK
5	HD	10	47.4%	Jawaharial Williams	BLACK
6	SD	3	46.5%	Mattie Hunter	BLACK
7	HD	6	45.0%	Sonya M. Harper	BLACK
8	HD	114	42.6%	LaToya Greenwood	BLACK
9	HD	78	28.5%	Camille Y. Lilly	BLACK
10	HD	67	26.5%	Maurice A. West, II	BLACK
11	HD	92	25.5%	Jehan Gordon-Booth	BLACK
12	HD	103	16.8%	Carol Ammons	BLACK
HISPANIC STATE LEGISLATORS, HISPANIC CVAP %					
13	SD	2	46.9%	Omar Aquino	HISPANIC
14	SD	20	42.0%	Cristina H. Pacione-Zayas	HISPANIC
15	HD	83	41.8%	Barbara Hernandez	HISPANIC
16	HD	4	37.5%	Delia C. Ramirez	HISPANIC
17	HD	40	35.4%	Jaime M. Andrade, Jr.	HISPANIC
18	SD	22	27.9%	Cristina Castro	HISPANIC
19	HD	44	20.4%	Fred Crespo	HISPANIC
20	HD	85	15.9%	Dagmara Avelar	HISPANIC
21	SD	26	11.7%	Karina Villa	HISPANIC
ASIAN STATE LEGISLATORS, HISPANIC CVAP %					
22	HD	16	25.5%	Denyse Stoneback	ASIAN
22	SD	8	24.1%	Ram Villivalam	ASIAN
23	HD	2	23.8%	Theresa Mah	ASIAN
24	HD	17	15.4%	Jennifer Gong-Gershowitz	ASIAN

minority candidates with their own votes and cannot find common ground with others.

As I explain in the next section on Gingles Prong 3 – whether voting by white majority usually defeats minority preferred candidates – I am not racking up such districts as minority-opportunity districts in favor of the state. Following the prescription of Prong 3 to examine “minority preferred” candidates, I also consider the election of candidates preferred by minorities who are typically white and rarely minorities who are not members of their same race. In its redistricting guide plaintiff MALDEF, in conjunction with the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), and Asian American Advancing Justice acknowledges that white candidates can be the candidates of choice of minority voters: “It is important to note that the term [candidates of choice] refers to minority voters, not candidates. A white candidate may be the preferred choice of minority voters, and conversely, some minority candidates are not the choice of minority voters.”⁴ By this same logic, a candidate of another race – a Black or Asian candidate could be the preferred candidate of choice of Hispanic voters.

II. Plaintiffs’ Practice Refutes Their Theory

Plaintiffs’ theoretical attachment to single-race 50%+ CVAP districts as the only districts that provides minorities equal opportunity with whites to elect preferred candidates stumbles through plaintiffs’ own decision-making. When the McConchie plaintiffs found that they could not feasibly aggregate enough minorities to form a single-race 50%+ CVAP remedial district, they resorted to practicality and crafted a remedial district that falls well below their avowed threshold.

⁴ MALDEF, LDF, and Asian American Advancing Justice, “Power on the Lines: Making Redistricting Work for Us,” 2021, at 37, https://www.maldef.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/FINAL-LDF_04142021_RedistrictingGuide-22e.pdf.

Plaintiffs' claims rest upon their assertion that minority voters have an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice in Illinois through single-race 50%+ minority districts. Earlier sections of this report on demographic thresholds and Gingles Prong 3, and the Senate factors have already analyzed and rejected that proposition. However, the McConchie plaintiffs, who have challenged more districts than either the Contreras or NAACP plaintiffs, contradict plaintiffs' rationale through their proposed remedial plan, which includes a district just 46.7% Hispanic *its CVAP*.

As part of their remedial proposal, the McConchie plaintiffs seek to replace House District 50 in the Aurora region with a new remedial district to provide in their view Hispanic voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. As presented in the McConchie plaintiffs' matrix, their remedial district for HD 50 has the CVAP percentages represented in Table 2. As noted in Table 2, the Hispanic CVAP percentage in the remedial plan is *not 50%+*, *but 46.7%*, well below plaintiffs' minimum threshold for a district alleged to provide minority voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice.

In addition, while the McConchie plaintiffs defend a 46.7% Hispanic CVAP remedial district, the McConchie and Contreras plaintiffs challenge three districts under SB 927, shown in Table 3, with an equal or greater Hispanic CVAP percentage. Two of these districts have Hispanic incumbents. The third has a white candidate, Steven Landek, who, as will be demonstrated in Section 2 on Gingles Prong 3, is the candidate of choice of Hispanic voters.

TABLE 2
CVAP PERCENTAGES FOR MCCONCHIE PLAINTIFFS' REMEDIAL DISTRICT IN AURORA

COUNT	DISTRICT	% BLACK CVAP	% ASIAN CVAP	% HISPANIC CVAP	% OTHER CVAP	% WHITE CVAP	% ALL MINORITY CVAP
1	HD 50	11.1%	1.9%	46.7%	1.5%	38.8%%	61.2%

TABLE 3
DISTRICTS WITH APPROXIMATELY 46.7% OR GREATER SINGLE-RACE CVAP IN S.B. 927 TARGETED BY MCCONCHIE OR MALDEF PLAINTIFFS

DISTRICT	INCUMBENT	RACE	HISPANIC CVAP %
SD 2	OMAR AQUINO	HISPANIC	46.7%
SD 11	STEVEN LANDEK*	WHITE	47.8%
HD 3	EVA DINO DELGADO	HISPANIC	47.4%

III. Authorities, Including the McConchie Plaintiffs' Expert Refute Their Theory

There is ample reason why plaintiffs' generic 50%+ single-race automatic threshold is inappropriate and misleading. Scholars, the U.S. Department of Justice, the U.S. Supreme Court in its guidelines for expert analysis, and civil rights groups, including MALDEF, have long rejected the mechanical reliance on any fixed demographic percentage, such as a 50%+ single race CVAP threshold, for assessing minority opportunity districts. Such a fixed demographic target will likely diminish minority voting opportunities by erroneously evaluating the effectiveness of districts within a jurisdiction. It automatically isolates minorities within substantially segregated districts even when not necessary. It, in effect, sets a ceiling on minority empowerment through confinement to a limited number of districts, throttling their ability to expand their reach by forming coalitions with other groups.⁵

The McConchie plaintiffs' expert Dr. Joey Chen is among the scholars who adamantly reject the single-race minority 50%+ demographic threshold.

In a 2021 article on voting rights in the 2021 *Yale Law Journal*, Chen and his co-author, Harvard Law Professor Nicholas O. Stephanopoulos, wrote that "According to recent Supreme Court cases, opportunity-district status cannot be determined based on 'an announced racial target' like a 50% minority population share ... Instead, the core of the inquiry must be whether 'the minority group' *in fact* 'has the potential to elect a representative of its own choice,' taking into account minority and nonminority voting preferences and turnout."⁶

Professor Justin Levitt of the Loyola Law School, a nationally recognized authority on voting rights has similarly rejected a one-size-fits-all demographic threshold as "deaf to local

⁵ *Johnson v. De Grandy*, 512 U.S. 997 (1994), at 1020.

⁶ Jowei Chen & Nicholas O. Stephanopoulos, "The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights," *Yale L.J.* (2021), 130, at 901-902.

political conditions” and for imposing the stereotype that minorities can elect candidates of their choice only in heavily segregated districts. In a 2016 article in the *Florida State University Law Review*, he criticized “Jurisdictions like Alabama” [that] “have been applying not the Voting Rights Act, but a ham-handed cartoon of the Voting Rights Act—substituting blunt numerical demographic targets for the searching examination of local political conditions that the statute actually demands.”⁷ Professor Levitt elaborated this essential point:

“And yet, there has emerged a troublesome tendency to understand the Voting Rights Act through the lens of a revisionist retrograde stereotype, treating the Act as if it demanded “safe” “Black districts” and “Latino districts” wherever there are substantial minority populations. This approach, particularly notable in the redistricting of this decennial cycle, is as blunt and blunderbuss as the real statute is subtle and tailored. It inheres in the perception that the Act is a blunt mandate to tally and bundle minority voters into districts pegged at talismanic target percentages. That is, it treats the Act as a demographic imperative—a ‘racial entitlement’—deaf to local political conditions.”⁸

Similarly, in a 2021 study mathematician Moon Duchin and law Professor Douglas Spencer reject the idea of defining minority opportunity districts by demography alone. They write, “*Demographics are not voting destiny* and below, following the VRA itself, we will shift the focus to electoral effectiveness rather than raw demographics.” (emphasis added) The authors emphasize that “The proper goal of the VRA is real political power for minority groups, which is a stubbornly local and particular matter, and is therefore hard to capture in a mere count of districts that pass

⁷ Justin Levitt, “Quick and Dirty: The New Misreading of the Voting Rights Act,” *Fla. St. U. L. Rev.* (2017), 43, p. 573.

⁸ *Id.*, p. 575-576.

any quantitative threshold test.”⁹

Decades before the publication of these articles, J. Gerald Hebert, then the Special Litigation Counsel, Voting Section, Civil Rights Division, United States Department of Justice, and I wrote in our 1993 article, *A General Theory of Vote Dilution*, that “Electoral arrangements are not legal or illegal *per se* ... The test is not achievement of an arbitrary level of minority population, but the realistic potential of minority voters to elect candidates of their choice.”¹⁰

Similarly, in its guidance for assessing violations of Section 5 of the Voting Rights, when it was operative before 2013, the U.S. Department of Justice likewise warned against relying mechanically on numerical population percentages to assess minority opportunity districts. Although Section 5 is no longer operative, the substance of Justice’s guidelines applies to any analysis of minority opportunity districts, not just Section 5 considerations:

“In determining whether the ability to elect exists in the benchmark plan and whether it continues in the proposed plan, the Attorney General does not rely on any predetermined or fixed demographic percentages at any point in the assessment. Rather, in the Department's view, this determination requires a functional analysis of the electoral behavior within the particular jurisdiction or election district. As noted above, census data alone may not provide sufficient indicia of electoral behavior to make the requisite determination ... For example, census population data may not reflect significant differences in group voting behavior. Therefore, election history and voting patterns within the jurisdiction,

⁹ Moon Duchin and Douglas M. Spencer, “Models Race and the Law,” *The Yale Journal Forum* 130 (2021), at 767.

¹⁰ Allan J. Lichtman and J. Gerald Hebert, “A General Theory of Vote Dilution,” *La Raza Law Journal*, 1993, 6(1), at 3, 4.

voter registration and turnout information, and other similar information are very important to an assessment of the actual effect of a redistricting plan.”¹¹

In its updated September 2021 “Guidance under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C. 10301, for redistricting and methods of electing government bodies,” the U.S. Department of Justice affirms that “Liability depends on the unique factual circumstances of each case and the totality of the circumstances in the particular jurisdiction in question.” It does not suggest any numerical demographic threshold for assessing minority voter opportunities.¹²

In the guidance it provided to expert analysis of minority voter opportunities under the Voting Rights Act, the U.S. Supreme Court noted in the case of *Johnson v. DeGrandy* that “[a]n inflexible [population] rule would run counter to the textual command of § 2, that the presence or absence of a violation be assessed ‘based on the totality of circumstances’” The Court added that “[n]o single statistic provides courts with a shortcut to determine whether a set of single-member districts unlawfully dilutes minority voting strength”¹³ In the 2015 case of *Alabama Legislative Black Caucus v. Alabama*, the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed this guidance. In his opinion for the Court, Justice Stephen Breyer applied the logic of Justice David Souter’s dissent in *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, 539 U. S. 461, 480 (2003). Breyer wrote that Souter “made clear that courts should not mechanically rely upon numerical percentages but should take account of all significant circumstances.”¹⁴

¹¹ United States Department of Justice, “Guidance Concerning Redistricting Under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act; Notice,” *Federal Register*, 9 February 2011, <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2011/02/09/2011-2797/guidance-concerning-redistricting-under-section-5-of-the-voting-rights-act-notice>.

¹² U.S. Department of Justice, “Guidance under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, 52 U.S.C. 10301, for redistricting and methods of electing government bodies,” 1 September 2021, quote on p. 8, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/press-release/file/1429486/download>.

¹³ *Johnson v. De Grandy*, 512 U.S. 997 (1994), at 1018, 1020, 1021.

¹⁴ *Alabama Legislative Black Caucus v. Alabama*, No. 13-895, 575 U.S. ___, 135 S. Ct. 1257 (2015).

In its 2021 redistricting guide that it published with two other civil rights organizations, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF) and Asian American Advancing Justice,¹⁵ MALDEF acknowledges that the demographic composition of districts alone does not justify creating majority-minority districts, without much additional analysis:

“Majority-minority districts must have statistical and factual support to justify their creation. This means that any advocacy for majority-minority districts must begin upon a foundation of evidence that shows how a majority-minority district is necessary to protect against illegal vote dilution or otherwise to comply with traditional redistricting criteria.”¹⁶ (p. 38)

MALDEF and its partners additionally note that “Advocacy for the creation of majority-minority districts can include” among other factors:

“INFORMATION ON VOTING PATTERNS OF YOUR COMMUNITY. This information typically focuses on the results of past elections, and especially ones in which a candidate of color ran against a white candidate. Overall election results, as well as how individual neighborhoods or precincts voted, are useful.

INFORMATION ON THE VOTING PATTERNS OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY, or the non-minority community. To justify the creation of a majority-minority district, you must show that the white community tends to vote as a bloc against the candidates preferred by the minority community that is seeking a majority-minority district. This information can be gleaned through interviews, or through statistical data.”

Critically, the report also admonishes advocates to examine “INFORMATION ON PAST ELECTION OF MINORITY CANDIDATES in the jurisdiction.”¹⁷ (all emphases in original)

In a 2001 report prepared as part of MALDEF’s submission of a California State Senate redistricting plan, California Institute of Technology historian J. Morgan Kousser did not rely on

¹⁵ LDF was founded in 1940 as a human and civil rights law firm, with Thurgood Marshall as its first director-counsel. Its mission is “to achieve racial justice, equality, and an inclusive society.” (<https://www.naacpldf.org/about-us/history/>). The mission of Asian American Advancing Justice, founded in 1991, is “Fighting for civil rights and empowering Asian Americans to create a more just America for all.” (<https://www.advancingjustice-aajc.org/>).

¹⁶ MALDEF, LDF, and Asian American Advancing Justice, “Power on the Lines: Making Redistricting Work for Us,” 2021, at 38, https://www.maldef.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/FINAL-LDF_04142021_RedistrictingGuide-22e.pdf.

¹⁷ *Id.*, at 42.

any demographic threshold for assessing Hispanic opportunity districts. Rather he relied on an analysis of Hispanic registration rates partitioned by party. “The index of Latino influence on election outcomes that will yield the broadest conclusions is the Latino percentage of registered Democrats ... As a redistricting strategy for Latinos, it makes sense to concentrate on winning Democratic nominations.” Kousser further noted that “to ‘pack’ more Latinos into districts that Latinos can already easily win – would not only decrease the opportunity of Latino voters to elect more candidates of their choice, thus contravening Section Two of the Voting Rights Act, but it would also exacerbate the problems that Justice O’Connor decried in *Shaw v. Reno* as the ‘balkanization’ or ‘segregation’ of more voters by ethnicity.”¹⁸

I am not citing Kousser’s work to suggest that his approach to analyzing Hispanic opportunity districts in California through Democratic registration rates is appropriate for Illinois. The point of referencing his MALDEF-sponsored work is instead to demonstrate that examination of demographic percentages alone cannot assess the effectiveness of Hispanic opportunity districts and that the substantial concentration of Hispanics is not optimal for achieving Hispanic empowerment.

A decade later, in its 2011 submission of California redistricting plans, MALDEF acknowledged that Hispanics can elect candidates of their choice in districts below the 50%+ single-race CVAP threshold and can continued to do so even if the Hispanic CVAP percentage is further reduced. For Assembly District 30 in California, MALDEF noted that “The benchmark district featured 46.8% Latino CVAP and 48.2% Latino Registration. The MALDEF plan features a 45.6% Latino CVAP and 44.2% Latino Registration. Even though there is a slight drop

¹⁸ MALDEF and William C. Vasquez Institute, “California Senate Redistricting Plan,” 31 July 2001, file:///C:/Users/lichtman/OneDrive%20-%20american.edu/Documents/IL%20STATE%20DATA/maldef-wcvi_senate_plan.PDF, Appendix D, J. Morgan Kousser, “The Role of Cross-Over Districts in a Fair Redistricting: Lessons from the 1990s,” 28 July 2001, at 6-7, 15.

in percentages, the Latino community's ability to elect a candidate of choice remains at the same effective level.”¹⁹

On behalf of both defendants and plaintiffs, I have testified several times, including in Illinois, against imposing any fixed population standard for assessing minority opportunity districts. I testified that, in practice, mechanical reliance on creating single-race majority districts diminishes minority voter opportunities by limiting their empowerment to a restricted number of concentrated. I testified that applying a more flexible standard responsive to local conditions would expand opportunities for minorities to elect candidates of their choice and influence the political process. I note again that I cite court cases for the substance of the analysis and not to draw any legal conclusions.

In the post-2000 redistricting in New Jersey, the state’s Apportionment Commission on legislative districts, reduced the Black voting age population (VAP) in two districts below 50% Black, while raising the Black VAP in another district from 4% to 35%. The litigation in New Jersey parallels the circumstances of this litigation in Illinois today. Republican plaintiffs from the New Jersey State Legislature joined by minority plaintiffs claimed that minorities could not elect candidates of their choice in less than 50% voting age population districts.

As the expert witness for the Commission, in the case of *Page v. Bartels*,²⁰ I provided analysis that challenged the fixed 50% Black voting age threshold for Black opportunity districts. As here, I cited the success of Black candidates in less than 50% districts and the lack of usual white bloc voting to defeat Black candidates of choice in such districts. I noted that by unpacking 50%+ districts and creating a new 35% district the plan would not diminish but would likely

¹⁹ MALDEF “California Statewide Redistricting Plans,” 26 May 2011, p. 13, https://www.maldef.org/assets/pdf/maldef_final_submission_052611_narrative.pdf.

²⁰ *Page v. Bartels*, 144 F. Supp. 2d 346 (D.N.J. 2001).

increase the election of minorities to the New Jersey State Legislature. The three-judge court let stand the Commission plan with the result that “Ultimately, the Bartels plan led to a record number of minority nominations and elections in the 2001 New Jersey primary.”²¹

A decade later, in North Carolina, Republicans in control of the post-2011 redistricting process imposed a fixed rule of 50%+ Black opportunity districts across the state. As an expert witness for the plaintiffs in this instance, I again testified that this rule needlessly packed Black voters into districts, diminishing political influence and their ability to elect candidates of their choice more broadly. I cited Black electoral success in districts below the 50%+ threshold and the lack of usual white voting sufficient to defeat Black candidates of choice in these districts. In striking down many challenged state legislative districts, the three-judge court cited my testimony. It ruled that “a ‘district effectiveness analysis’ is a district specific evaluation used to determine the minority voting-age population level at which a district ‘become[s] effective in providing [a] realistic opportunity for . . . voters [of that minority group] to elect candidates of their choice.’ Trial Tr. vol. III, 14:1–12 (Lichtman).²² The court further cited my testimony regarding the distinction between racially polarized voting per se and politically significant racially polarized voting that is usually sufficient to defeat the minority candidate of choice.²³

In Florida in 2016, I testified on behalf of defendants, responding to a challenge by U.S. Representative Corrine Brown to redrawn Congressional District 5. Brown contended that the district’s new 45.1% Black voting age population was insufficient to provide Black voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. She claimed that the VAP should be raised

²¹ E. Jaynie Leung, “Page v. Bartels: A Total Effects Approach to Evaluating Racial Dilution Claims,” *Minnesota Journal of Law & Inequality*, 2003, 21(1), p. 209. See also, Sam Hirsch, Unpacking Page v. Bartels: A Fresh Redistricting Paradigm Emerges in New Jersey, *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, 2004 1(1).

²² *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F. R. D. 117 (M.D.N.C. 2016), at

²³ *Id.*, at xxx. The U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the District Court’s ruling for all but two districts. *North Carolina v. Covington*, 583 US ____ 2018.

to more than 50%. After a study of voting patterns in the district, I concluded that the 45.1% Black VAP was more than sufficient to provide Black voters the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. A three-judge Federal District Court rejected Brown's challenge and let the district stand. In the 2016 elections, the voters of new Congressional District 5 elected African American candidate Al Lawson. No white candidates contested the 2016 Democratic primary in CD 5. In a three-way race among Black candidates, Lawson defeated Brown by 8.6 percentage points. He prevailed in the general election with a landslide majority of 64.2% against Black Republican Glo Smith. Lawson has since easily prevailed in subsequent elections.²⁴

In Illinois in 2001, Republican plaintiffs challenged the state's redistricting plan for the General Assembly. After the District Court dismissed the claims regarding Hispanic opportunity districts, plaintiffs claimed that the Black percentage of districts was too low and that districts statewide should conform to a "rule of thumb" that in this instance they claimed should be 60% voting age population. The three-judge Federal District Court rejected any fixed target for Black opportunity districts. The court noted, "Dr. Lichtman testified at trial that current voting rights scholarship generally opposes uniform application of the rule of thumb to majority-minority districts because factors such as age, registration rates, and turnout behavior of voters can vary significantly from district to district. Dr. Arrington [plaintiffs' expert] did not dispute this testimony, and also expressly disavowed the use of the rule of thumb."

The court further noted that "VAP figures do not accurately evaluate the electoral strength of a district."²⁵ The Court upheld the state's plan and Black voters succeeded in electing candidates of their choice in districts well below the purported 60% threshold, including House

²⁴ *Brown v. Detzner*, Case No. 4:2015cv00398, U.S. District Court, Northern District of Florida (2016); Florida Department of State, <https://results.elections.myflorida.com/>.

²⁵ *Campuzano v. Illinois State Board of Elections*, 200 F. Supp. 2d 905 (N.D. Ill. 2002), at 911, 912, fn. 10.

District 78 with a 38.9% Black voting age population. Current Black incumbent Camille Lilly first won election in District 78 under the 2001 plan in 2008. Previously, it was held by Black incumbent Deborah L. Graham, elected under the 2001 plan in 2002.

In a 2015 report, “The Color of Representation: Local Government in Illinois,” MALDEF in conjunction with the Chicago Lawyers’ Committee, the Joyce Foundation, and Asian American Forward Justice, summarized criticisms of efforts to expand minority representation solely through single-race, majority-minority districts. For Black citizens the report notes, “as a matter of substantive representation, packing Black voters, who are predominantly Democratic, into single districts can create surrounding districts that are more Republican, resulting in the election of more Republicans to the legislature in total, who may be less likely to support the interests of the Black community.” Second, the report observes “that a preoccupation with creating majority Black districts entrenches the racial segregation of minority voters,” limits their empowerment beyond a restricted number of districts, and fosters the idea that Black representative are tokens, isolated their enclave districts. Third, the report cites “the national organization FairVote,” which “has long argued that one of the main problems with majority-minority districts is that they “require the continuation of some degree of housing segregation that concentrates minority populations within easily drawn boundaries.” In addition, FairVote notes the inherent limitation of minority concentration means that, “many racial minority voters will be unable to elect preferred candidates when not living in majority-minority districts.” These same criticisms would apply to majority Latino districts, which pose the additional problem of a more dispersed minority population.²⁶

²⁶ Chicago Lawyers’ Committee, the Joyce Foundation, MALDEF, and Asian American Forward Justice, “The Color of Representation,” April 2015, pp. 29-30, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5871061e6b8f5b2a8ede8ff5/t/593034a415cf7d726f5c6cb5/1496331463548/The_Color_of_Representation.pdf.

Professor Levitt emphasizes the detrimental effects of packing minorities into districts according to a fixed population majority reinforces stereotypes about minorities and subverts the purpose of the Voting Rights Act, which is minority empowerment:

It “turns the Act from a refined and sophisticated piece of federal legislation into a cartoon ... In some circumstances, the jurisdictions’ reliance on crude demographic targets over-concentrates real minority political power; in other circumstances, it under-concentrates real minority political power. In still other circumstances, the real political effects are un-clear, because the lure of the demographic assumption means that nobody has bothered to examine the real political effects. But in every circumstance, the notion that it is possible to rely on a few census statistics to guarantee compliance with the obligations of the Voting Rights Act betrays the central statutory insight. By assuming that functional political cleavages can be measured purely by percentage of citizen voting-age population, the troublesome approach imposes racial stereotypes on a statute designed to combat them.”²⁷

Leah Alden, Deputy Director of Litigation for LDF said this year that “The bright line of 50-percent-plus-one [minority share in a district] might be outdated, given the nuances of political realities across the country.” Bobby Scott, the pioneering Black leader who became Virginia’s first Black member of Congress since the 19th century said, “To suggest there is some numerical barrier that you have to achieve is absurd. If the votes are changing, the standard ought to change.”²⁸ After a successful lawsuit, Scott’s 50%+ single-race majority Black district was reduced to create two districts with Black percentage below 50%: Congressional District 3,

²⁷ Ibid., Levitt, “Quick and Dirty,” pp. 575-576.

²⁸ David Wasserman, “Is it Time to Rethink Hyper-Minority Districts?” *The Atlantic*, 20 September 2021, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2021/09/it-time-rethink-hyper-minority-districts/620118/>.

which is 46% single-race Black in its voting age population, and Congressional District 4, which is 39% single-race Black, according to the 2020 Census. Scott won reelection in CD 3 in 2016 and CD 4 elected a second Black representative, Donald McEachin, who won 75% of the Democratic primary vote and 58% of the general election vote. Both incumbents comfortably won reelection in 2018 and 2020.²⁹

In our 1993 article, Hebert and I wrote that “If minorities become more integrated into the mainstream of American life and polarized voting fades, the Voting Rights Act would no longer mandate the concentration of minority populations. The determination will be made jurisdiction by jurisdiction, in response to local conditions.”³⁰ This is what has occurred in twenty-first century Illinois. White bloc voting has diminished to the point where it does not usually defeat minority candidates of choice.

The opposite is true in Illinois, where white bloc voting *almost never* defeats minority candidates of minority voter candidates of choice either statewide or in legislative districts in the broad range of 25%+ to 50%- single-race CVAP. I will elaborate this finding on state legislative elections in the next section on Gingles Prong 3. For now, I note that Illinois is a white-majority state with a 15% Black CVAP, a 11.2% Hispanic CVAP, a 4.5% Asian CVAP and overall, a 31.4% all-minority CVAP.³¹

Since 2008, minority Democratic candidates in Illinois have participated in 17 statewide Democratic primaries and general elections, there is no dispute among experts that minorities are overwhelmingly Democratic in Illinois. By the logic of plaintiffs’ theory, demographic statewide

²⁹ Virginia Department of Elections, “Election Results,” <https://www.elections.virginia.gov/resultsreports/election-results/>.

³⁰ Ibid., Lichtman and Hebert, “A General Theory,” p. 25.

³¹ U.S. Census, American Community Survey, “Citizen Voting Age Population by Race and Ethnicity,” 2015-2019, <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/voting-rights/cvap.2019.html>. The black and Asian percentages include combinations with whites.

minorities should have been shut out or nearly shut out of these statewide elections. In practice, not theory, Table 4 demonstrates that the minority candidates *prevailed in all 17 elections*, usually against white competitors, although sometimes running opposed in Democratic primaries. With the single exception of a close 2018 Democratic Primary for Attorney General, minority candidates have won contested primary and general elections by wide margins. Thus, *not once in these seventeen contests*, including primary and general elections, over a twelve-year span in a white-dominated CVAP state did white bloc voting defeat a minority candidate.

Among statewide Illinois officials, senators, and executive officers, not counting presidents, minorities now comprise 5 of 8 elected officials (62.3%) as demonstrated in Table 5. This record of electoral success for minorities far outpaces other states with comparable levels of minority CVAP statewide. As shown in Table 6 and Chart 1, compared to the 62.5% statewide election rate of minority officials, no similar minority CVAP state surpasses a 16.7% statewide election rate of minorities. Three of the six comparison states have no minority office-holders elected statewide. Combined, the six comparison states have just three office-holders elected statewide, compared to six for Illinois alone. The average difference between Illinois and the comparison states in the share of minority statewide elected officials is 56.8 percentage points.

TABLE 4
MINORITY V. WHITE STATEWIDE ELECTION RESULTS IN ILLINOIS SINCE 2008

ELECTION	MINORITY CANDIDATE	WHITE CANDIDATE(S)	WINNER	SINGLE RACE CVAP% OF MINORITY CAND.
2010 DEM. PRIM. SEC. OF STATE	JESSE WHITE BLACK	UNOPPOSED	WHITE 100%	15.0%
2010 GENERAL SEC. OF STATE	JESSE WHITE BLACK	HISPANIC REPUBLICAN	WHITE 69.9%	15.0%
2014 DEM. PRIM. SEC. OF STATE	JESSE WHITE BLACK	UNOPPOSED	WHITE 100%	15.0%
2014 GENERAL SEC. OF STATE	JESSE WHITE BLACK	MIKE WEBSTER	WHITE 65.7%	15.0%
2016 DEM. PRIM. US SENATE	TAMMY DUCKWORTH ASIAN	NO WHITE, 2 BLACK CANDIDATES	DUCKWORTH 64.4%	4.5%
2016 GENERAL US SENATE	TAMMY DUCKWORTH ASIAN	MARK KIRK	DUCKWORTH 54.9%	4.5%
2018 DEM. PRIM. LT. GOVERNOR	JULIANA STRATTON BLACK	VARIOUS	STRATTON 54.5%	15.0%
2018 GENERAL LT. GOVERNOR	JULIANA STRATTON BLACK	Evelyn Sanguinetti	STRATTON 54.5%	15.0%
2018 DEM. PRIM. ATT. GEN.	KWAME RAOUL BLACK	PAT QUINN + VARIOUS OTHERS	RAOUL 30.2%	15.0%
2018 GENERAL ATT. GEN.	KWAME RAOUL BLACK	ONLY MINOR PARTY	RAOUL 54.7%	15.0%
2018 DEM. PRIM. COMPTROLLER	SUSANA MENDOZA HISPANIC	UNOPPOSED	MENDOZA 100%	11.2%
2018 GENERAL COMPTROLLER	SUSANA MENDOZA HISPANIC	DARLENE SENGER	MENDOZA 59.9%	11.2%
2018 DEM PRIMARY SEC. OF STATE	JESSE WHITE BLACK	UNOPPOSED	WHITE 100%	15.0%
2018 GENERAL SECRETARY OF STATE	JESSE WHITE BLACK	JASON HELLAND	WHITE 68.3%	15.0%

**TABLE 5
EIGHT STATEWIDE ELECTED OFFICE-HOLDERS IN ILLINOIS BY RACE**

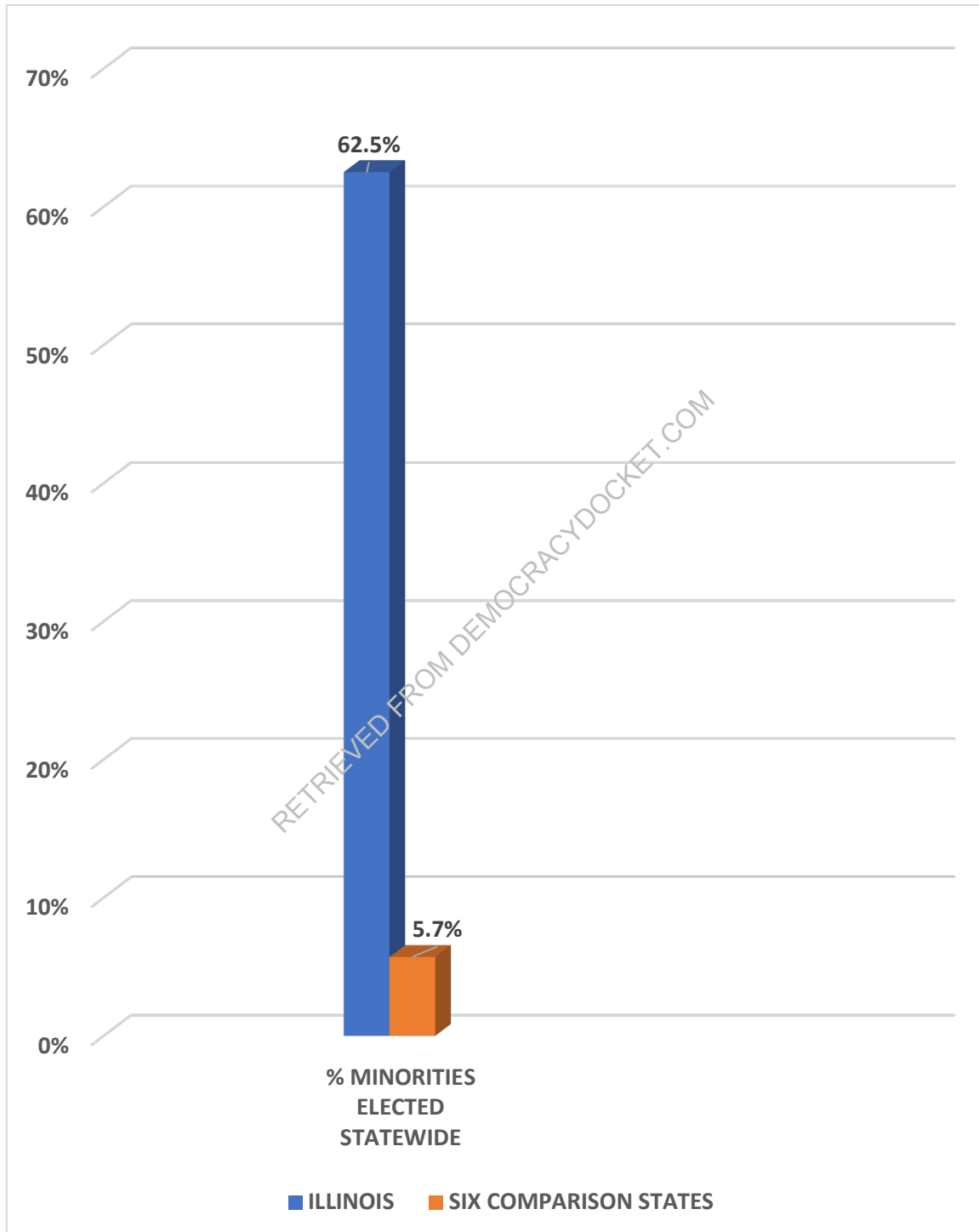
OFFICE	INCUMBENT	RACE
US SENATE	RICHARD DURBIN	WHITE
US SENATE	TAMMY DUCKWORTH	ASIAN
GOVERNOR	J.B. PRITZKER	WHITE
LT. GOVERNOR	JULIANA STRATTON	BLACK
ATTORNEY GENERAL	KWAME RAOUL	BLACK
COMPTROLLER	SUSANA MENDOZA	HISPANIC
SECRETARY OF STATE	JESSE WHITE	BLACK
TREASURER	MIKE FRERICHS	WHITE
SUM: 5 OF 8 OFFICIALS, MINORITY 62.5%		

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

TABLE 6
STATEWIDE ELECTED OFFICE-HOLDERS IN ILLINOIS COMPARED TO OTHER STATES WITH COMPARABLE MINORITY CVAP

STATE	MINORITY CVAP	# OF ELECTED STATEWIDE OFFICE-HOLDERS	# OF ELECTED MINORITY OFFICE-HOLDERS	% OF MINORITY OFFICE HOLDERS	DIFFERENCE WITH ILLINOIS
ILLINOIS	31.4%	8	5	62.5%	NA
ALABAMA	30.8%	8	0	0%	-62.5 PERCENTAGE PTS
DELAWARE	30.7%	9	1	11.1%	-51.4 PERCENTAGE PTS
LOUISIANA	34.7%	8	0	0%	-62.5 PERCENTAGE PTS
NORTH CAROLINA	30.4%	12	1	8.3%	-54.2 PERCENTAGE PTS
SOUTH CAROLINA	32.0%	10	0	0%	-62.5 PERCENTAGE PTS
VIRGINIA	32.1%	6	1	16.7%	-45.8 PERCENTAGE PTS
ALL NON-ILLINOIS	31.8%	53	3	5.7%	-56.8 PERCENTAGE PTS
Sources: state websites and Ballotpedia for individual states.					

CHART 1
MINORITY OFFICIALS ELECTED STATEWIDE, ILLINOIS VERSUS COMPARISON STATES



It is also informative to examine the actual election results for the City of Chicago and Cook County, where most of the challenged state legislative districts are located. Per the 2015-2019 American Community Survey results cited above, Chicago is majority-minority in its CVAP, like nearly all the challenged districts, but no racial group comes close to the 50%+ threshold: Black CVAP is 32.8%, and Hispanic CVAP is 20%. Yet, as indicated in Table 7, all three citywide elected officials in Chicago are minorities: The mayor and Treasurer are Black, and the City Clerk is Hispanic. Cook County is about evenly divided between whites and minorities in CVAP, but no individual minority group comes close the plaintiffs' 50%+ single-race CVAP. Blacks comprise 26% of the County's CVAP and Hispanics are 17.7%. Yet, according to Table 7, a majority 4 of 7 countywide elected officials are minorities.

Conclusions

As the redistricting adviser to the Democratic caucus, I reported these and other findings on state legislative elections (see next section on Prong 3 regarding the lack of politically significant white bloc voting to the Illinois State Legislature in 2011 and reiterated it in 2021. They were not operating in the blind in formulating the 2011 or the 2021 redistricting plans.³²

In 2021 I reported to the Joint Redistricting Committee that:

“The real story though in the State of Illinois, as I presented to the court and as I'm going to present to you now, is the fact that there is no longer white/Black (*sic*, bloc) voting that usually defeats the candidate of choice of minority voters, except, you know, in a very few overwhelmingly white districts and white areas that really can't do anything about it.”³³

³² Contrary to some rumors, despite providing general advice I had no role in drafting either the 2011 or 2021 redistricting plans for the Illinois State Legislature or Congress.

³³ Joint Committee Redistricting Hearing, 25 May 2021, Transcription Of Recorded Audio Proceedings Received on May 28, 2021, p. 39.

TABLE 7
EIGHT JURISDICTION-WIDE ELECTED OFFICE-HOLDERS IN CHICAGO AND
COOK COUNTY BY RACE

CHICAGO OFFICES		
OFFICE	INCUMBENT	RACE
MAYOR	LORI LIGHTFOOT	BLACK
TREASURER	ANNA M. VALENCIA	HISPANIC
CITY CLERK	MELISSA CONYEARS-ERVIN	BLACK
COOK COUNTY OFFICES		
OFFICE	INCUMBENT	RACE
STATE'S ATTORNEY	KIMBERLY M. FOXX	BLACK
SHERIFF	THOMAS DART	WHITE
Clerk of the Circuit Court	IRIS MARTINEZ	HISPANIC
ASSESSOR	FRITZ KAEGI	WHITE
TREASURER	MARIA PAPPAS	WHITE
COUNTY BD. PRESIDENT	TONY PRECKWINKLE	BLACK
COUNTY CLERK	KAREN A. YARBROUGH	BLACK

In 2011 I had provided similar testimony, which proved correct with respect to the districts at issue (see above on *Campuzano*). Those districts included House District 78 with a Black CVAP of 38.9%. Plaintiffs incorrectly insisted that this district could not provide Black voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. Thus, what plaintiffs call the cracking of minority communities is a recognition that plaintiffs' 50%+ single-race theory is misguided in principle and practice. Rather, minority empowerment can be enhanced by not uncritically aggregating minorities into single-race 50%+ CVAP districts.

SECTION 2: GINGLES CRITERIA PRONG 3

I. Overview

In the foundational 1986 case of *Thornburg v. Gingles*, the U.S. Supreme Court establishes three threshold criteria for experts in assessing whether a district has the effect of diluting the votes of minorities.

First, the minority group must be able to demonstrate that it is sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority in a single-member district....

Second, the minority group must be able to show that it is politically cohesive....

Third, the minority must be able to demonstrate that the white majority votes sufficiently as a bloc to enable it—in the absence of special circumstances, such as the minority candidate running unopposed—to usually defeat the minority's preferred candidate.³⁴

This section of my report focuses on Prong 3 of the three Gingles criteria. In any Section 2 case, proof by plaintiffs' experts of Prong 3 is a necessary but not sufficient requisite for proof of a violation of the Voting Rights Act. It is important to note that Prong 3 refers to “the

³⁴ *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30 (1986), at 50-51.

minority's preferred candidate," also termed the minority candidate of choice. It does not specify that the minority preferred candidate must be a candidate of the minority's own race. As noted in the previous section, plaintiff MALDEF, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), and Asian American Advancing Justice acknowledge that white candidates or candidates of another race can be the candidates of choice of minority voters.

This section of my declaration will deal with multiple reports by plaintiffs' experts that quantitatively examine issues related to Prong 3. It will consider the proof offered by the plaintiffs' experts on voting patterns, Dr. Jacob Grumbach for *Contreras* plaintiffs: Dr. Jowei Chen and Dr. Anthony Fowler for the *McConchie* plaintiffs, and Dr. Loren Collingwood for the *NAACP* plaintiffs. Based on the material presented in the declaration of these experts and additional material of my own, this section of my declaration demonstrates that white bloc voting does not usually, or even more than occasionally, defeat minority candidates of choice in legislative districts with minorities citizen voting age populations (CVAP) ranging as low at the bottom end of an "influence district." I conclude this part of my declaration with a section on minority empowerment under different approaches to redistricting.

MALDEF defines an "influence district," but not an opportunity district, as a district with a single race CVAP percentage of 25% to 30%³⁵. So, a reasonable cutoff for assessing minority opportunity state legislative districts in Illinois would be districts with a single-race CVAP greater than 30%. The lowest single-race CVAP majority in any new state legislative district (SB 927) is 34.6% Hispanic CVAP. The lowest single-race CVAP majority in any analog district of the prior 2011 plan is 35.4% Hispanic in House District 40. However, in the interest of extreme

³⁵ MALDEF, "Amicus Curiae Letter in Support of Petition to Review," *Pico Neighborhood Association v. Santa Monica*, 18 September 2020, <https://www.santamonica.gov/Media/Attorney/Election/20200918.MALDEF%20Amicus%20>.

caution, this declaration will examine the effects of white bloc voting on state legislative districts with a single-race CVAP percentage of 25% or more. Districts below that level are clearly not probative for assessing minority voting opportunities in current or new challenged districts.

In responding to multiple plaintiff declarations this component of my declaration will be divided into several sections. The main sections will focus separately on Hispanic voters and Black voters. The section on Hispanic voting will focus on the declarations of Drs. Grumbach and Chen. The section on Black voting will concentrate on the Chen and Collinswood declarations. A short last section will deal only with the Fowler declaration, which briefly presents an analysis dealing with Black and Hispanic voter opportunities. Each section will delineate the material presented by the separate plaintiff declarations, which also have considerable overlap.

II. Summary of Opinions

- 1) There is no “white majority” in any district challenged by plaintiffs for an insufficient concentration of Hispanics. These are all majority-minority CVAP districts.
- 2) The district-specific information presented by Grumbach and Chen, with some corrections, demonstrates that white bloc does not usually defeat Hispanic candidates of choice in state legislative elections with Hispanic CVAP as low as 25%. Instead, the information proves that white bloc voting *almost never* defeats Hispanic candidates of choice in such districts.
- 3) The actual results of elections demonstrate that in 26 Hispanic v. non-Hispanic elections in 25%+ Hispanic CVAP districts, Hispanic preferred candidates prevailed in 91% of these contests.

- 4) The win rate for Hispanic preferred candidates is 88% when the analysis considers only districts above 25% Hispanic CVAP but below 50% Hispanic CVAP, plaintiffs' talismanic percentage for a district that provides minorities an equal opportunity with whites to elect candidates of their choice.
- 5) Hispanic preferred candidates have been extraordinarily successful at forming interracial coalitions in which they are the preferred candidates of both Hispanic and non-Hispanic voters, including whites.
- 6) Such interracial coalitions expand minority empowerment beyond what is possible by forming heavily concentrated minority districts that depend on the residential segregation that plaintiffs' experts otherwise decry.
- 7) Dr. Chen's additional analysis of Hispanic voter opportunities examines only five elections chosen according to the plaintiffs' counsel's arbitrary and biased criteria provided to him. Plaintiffs' counsel further dictated to Dr. Chen the procedure to analyze this limited sample of elections. In some one-hundred redistricting and voting rights cases, I have never before witnessed a counsel compromising the scientific integrity of an expert with such methodological dictates.
- 8) Dr. Chen's efforts to project likely votes on SB 927 challenged districts and proposed remedial districts rely on a single unrepresentative and biased exogenous election and suffers from several other serious flaws.
- 9) Dr. Chen and Dr. Collingwood's analyses of Black voter opportunities in House District 114 demonstrate that white bloc voting did not usually defeat any Black candidate of choice in this district. It only once defeated Black candidates of choice in the related Senate district or in Saint Clair County.

- 10) The win rate for Black candidates (all are the preferred candidates of Black voters) in seven elections chosen for analysis by Dr. Chen or Dr. Collingwood is 86%.
- 11) Dr. Collingwood's own projection of likely outcomes in HD 114 under SB 927 demonstrates that white bloc voting would not defeat Black candidates in this new district.
- 12) Dr. Fowler's opinion confirms that a 50%+ district is not necessary to provide minority voters even more than an equal opportunity with whites to elect candidates of their choice.
- 13) However, Dr. Fowler's analysis cannot provide probative results for Gingles Prong 3 because it considers only the election of minority candidates, not minority preferred candidates. His theoretical, statewide generic model also fails to accurately represent actual election results.
- 14) Plaintiffs' approach of concentrating minorities into single-race 50% CVAP districts limits not expand minority empowerment and makes plaintiffs' strategy dependent on the racial segregation that their experts have decried.
- 15) In short, this analysis verifies what I testified to at a joint hearing of the Redistricting Committees of the Illinois Senate and Illinois House of Representatives on June 25, 2021. I testified that white bloc voting has diminished in Illinois to the extent that it no longer comes close to defeating minority preferred candidates in state legislative elections with much smaller minority concentrations than 50%+. It is not necessary and ultimately detrimental to segregate minorities into such districts.

III. Analysis of Gingles Prong 3 For Hispanic Voter Opportunities

This section focuses on the Grumbach and Chen declarations and develops an analytic framework for analyzing Gingles Prong 3. As a preliminary matter, I first note that there is no “white majority” in any districts that plaintiffs have challenged for allegedly insufficient concentrations of Hispanics. As shown in Table 1, these are all majority-minority districts.

Dr. Grumbach’s declaration presents considerable information on Hispanic and non-Hispanic voting choices but does not directly address Gingles Prong 3. As he explains in the

TABLE 1
HISPANIC CVAP IN CHALLENGED DISTRICTS UNDER PLAN SB 927

COUNT	DISTRICT	% BLACK CVAP	% ASIAN CVAP	% HISPANIC CVAP	% OTHER CVAP	% NON-HISP. MIN. CVAP	% ALL MINORITY CVAP
1	HD 3	4.9%	3.6%	47.4%	1.4%	9.9%	57.3%
2	HD 4	15.8%	2.4%	45.2%	1.6%	19.8%	65.0%
3	HD 21	7.2%	2.6%	42.7%	0.8%	10.6%	53.3%
4	HD 24 (Prior 2)	3.7%	23.6%	43.7%	1.2%	28.5%	72.2%
5	HD 39	3.1%	4.0%	45.6%	2.0%	9.1%	54.7%
6	HD 40 *	4.8%	9.1%	34.6%	2.2%	16.1%	50.7%
7	SD 2 **	10.4%	3.0%	46.7%	1.4%	14.8%	61.5%
8	SD 11 ** (Prior 12)	5.0%	1.8%	47.8%	0.7%	7.5%	55.3%

* Challenged only by McConchie plaintiffs. ** Challenged only by MALDEF plaintiffs.

second paragraph of his declaration on page 1, he is assessing exclusively the existence of racially polarized voting in Illinois: “I was retained by Plaintiffs in this action to provide expert testimony assessing whether racially polarized voting between Latinos and non-Latinos exists in Illinois.” He further makes clear in his summary that “The Plaintiffs in *Contreras v. Illinois State Board of Elections* have asked me to quantitatively assess whether racially polarized voting exists in elections in the state of Illinois, with a focus on those racially contested elections that occurred in the prior decade in jurisdictions that overlap with the legislative districts challenged in this litigation.” (page 2)

An appropriate analysis of racially polarized voting might indirectly provide insight into Gingles Prong 3. However, Dr. Grumbach’s approach to racially polarized voting precludes such insight. First, Dr. Grumbach does not examine polarization between Hispanics and Whites. Instead, he universally combines Whites, Blacks, Asians, and other minorities into the single category of “non-Latino.” Thus, the voting choices of Whites remain concealed within this larger category of voters.

Second, Grumbach adopts a misleading definition of racially polarized voting that precludes any insight into Gingles Prong 3. Dr. Grumbach finds that racially polarized voting occurs whenever Hispanics and non-Hispanics differ in their voting choices, even when the differences are small and critically for Prong 3, no matter whether the two groups have the same preferred candidate. As illustrated by the examples in Table 2, Grumbach finds racially polarized voting even when Hispanics and non-Hispanics voted overwhelmingly for the same candidate of choice. I will further consider the issue of racially polarized voting in Illinois

TABLE 2
EXAMPLES OF ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY DR. GRUMBACH WHERE HE FINDS
RACIALLY POLARIZED VOTING

ELECTION & HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE	HISPANIC VOTE FOR HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE	NON-HISPANIC VOTE FOR HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE
CONG. DIST. 4 2018 GENERAL, GARCIA	92.7%	84.6%
COOK CO. STATE'S ATT. 2012 GENERAL, ALVAREZ	84.7%	75.9%
HOUSE DISTRICT 4 2016 DEM PRIM, SOTO	94.9%	70.7%
COOK CO. CIRCUIT CLERK, 2020 GENERAL, MARTINEZ	81.6%	71.0%

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when examining Factor 2 of the Senate factors on the totality of the circumstances for minority voters.

Despite these limitations, the information presented in Dr. Grumbach's report, with appropriate corrections, can help analyze Prong 3, especially when combined with corrected information from Dr. Chen's report. Specifically, if Dr. Grumbach's correctly identified Hispanic preferred candidates win elections in state legislative districts, then, by definition they could not have been defeated by white bloc voting. Ultimately the analysis will prove that white bloc voting only defeats minority candidates of choice in the rarest of elections.

In the tables and charts in the main body of his report Grumbach reports, with the odd exception of two congressional elections, he estimates Hispanic and non-Hispanic voting only for Hispanic candidates. It is necessary to dig into the detailed tables in his Appendix to discover the Hispanic candidate of choice, which differs from the Hispanic candidate in several elections.

However, the percentages of Hispanic CVAP in two of his chosen districts are too low for informative analysis of wins or losses for Hispanic preferred candidates or even for reliable measurement of voting patterns. As Dr. Grumbach acknowledges, "we obtain more precise estimates when precincts tend to be more racially homogenous," that is, there should be substantial concentrations of Hispanics and non-Hispanics in different electoral precincts to distinguish their voting patterns. Otherwise, Dr. Grumbach's estimation procedure of ecological inference (EI) or other statistical methods can produce unreliable results. In a 2021 article, mathematician Moon Duchin and her co-author, law professor Douglas M. Spencer agree that "Ecological inference, like ecological regression and all other inference techniques used for this purpose, gives very unreliable estimates for small sub-populations."³⁶

³⁶ Moon Duchin and Douglas M. Spencer, "Models Race and the Law," *The Yale Journal Forum* 130 (2021), at 777.

The two districts in Dr. Grumbach analysis with such small sub-populations of Hispanics are House District 19 with a Hispanic CVAP of 21.7% and Senate District 6 with a Hispanic CVAP of 8%. However small the sub-population, Dr. Grumbach's ecological inference (EI) technique will automatically grind out from its black box estimates of voting behavior, however unreliable. By a black box method, I mean that it includes no reality checks on even impossible results, as illustrated in Table 3 for Dr. Grumbach's results for Hispanic voting in multi-candidate 2018 Democratic primary in House District 19. Mathematically the percentage of Hispanic voters voting for all candidates in an election must add to 100%, not more or less. This constraint is absolute; the percentage of the Hispanic vote for each candidate equals the Hispanic vote for the candidate/the Hispanic vote for all candidates. However, as shown in Table 3, Dr. Grumbach's EI estimates of the percentage of the Hispanic vote for each candidate add to 141.2%, 41.2 percentage points outside the mathematical maximum. Dr. Grumbach reports confidence intervals for each estimate which bound the estimates within a plus or minus probability range. However, these confidence intervals are internal to the EI system. As further illustrated in Table 3 the confidence intervals are not necessarily reliable for the real world. Even implausibly taking the lowest level of the confidence interval for Hispanic voting for each candidate, the result still sums to twenty percentage points above 100%.

After omitting these non-probative districts, I was able to verify nearly all of Dr. Grumbach's EI results within an inconsequential margin of difference, using my independent method of ecological regression. Ecological regression is a standard methodology that I have used thousands of times in my voting rights cases and my scholarship. At the precinct level of analysis, the method compares the precinct-by-precinct vote in an election with the precinct-by-

TABLE 3
DR. GRUMBACH'S EI ESTIMATES OF HISPANIC VOTING FOR CANDIDATES IN
HD 19, 2018 DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

PERCENT OF THE LATINO VOTE FOR EACH CANDIDATE PER GRUMBACH EI & SUM					
Muehfelder	Duplechin	Lapointe	Bonin	SUM	DIFFERENCE FROM 100%
23.69%	16.2%	50.98%	50.34%	141.2%	+41.2 PERCENTAGE PTS
PERCENT OF THE LATINO VOTE FOR EACH CANDIDATE LOWEST EI CONFIDENCE & SUM					
Muehfelder	Duplechin	Lapointe	Bonin	SUM	DIFFERENCE FROM 100%
19.26%	12.03%	43.05%	45.68%	120.0%	+20 PERCENTAGE PTS

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precinct racial groups under study. It derives a prediction equation from this comparison that provides estimates the percentages of each racial group voting for each candidate in the election. The method has been tested numerous times in litigation and was the basis for the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Thornburg v. Gingles*. The U.S. Supreme Court accepted my ecological regression methodology in the landmark Texas redistricting case of *LULAC v. Perry*, 548 U.S. 399 (2006), at 21. See, also,; *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F. R. D. 117 (M.D.N.C. 2016), at 137, and in Illinois, *Committee for a Fair and Balanced Map v. Illinois State Board of Elections*, 835 F. Supp. 2d 563 (N.D. Ill. 2011), at 585.

For a full explication of the ecological regression methodology see, Allan J. Lichtman, "Passing the Test: Ecological Regression Analysis in the Los Angeles County Case and Beyond," *Evaluation Review*, 1991 15(6). Ecological regression and ecological inference typically provide results that are inconsequentially different from one another, as is primarily true here. However, unlike ecological inference results, results from ecological regression have an assortment of reality checks: assuring that the estimates add to 100% of the votes cast by each racial groups; assuring that the estimates correctly reproduce the actual election results; examining graphs that plot candidate votes with precinct demography and analyzing precincts with substantial concentrations of one racial group.

The ecological inference EI method is also highly dependent on model choice and assumptions, and unpredictably fails and gives unreliable results. In his recent 2021 study of minority opportunity districts in 20 states, Dr. Chen found that he had to discard ecological

inference results for the state of New Jersey because of unexplained “unreliable ecological-inference estimates.”³⁷ New Jersey is a large and diverse state with a minority CVAP of 37.8%.³⁸

Both the EI point estimates and the confidence intervals depend on the particular model chosen for the analysis and the assumptions impeded within the model. The method can produce unstable results when rerun. Duchin and Spencer found “that a significant driver of instability is the manner of employing ecological inference, or EI, to estimate candidate preference by race. Though EI is a valid family of estimation methods, it should be used with caution because of well-documented limitations in precision and untestable questions of model selection.” In critiquing an effort by Jowei Chen and co-author Stephan Stephanopoulos to identify majority-minority districts they note “that Chen and Stephanopoulos report that 46 seats currently meet their definition of minority opportunity district (MOD for short). But merely by toggling four settings between the authors’ EI setup and alternative settings we commonly find in expert reports—while maintaining their precise definition of MOD and using the same R package they used to run EI—we were able to make the measured number of opportunity districts in the enacted plan itself vary from 34 to 51 seats, as shown in Figure 5. This does not mean that EI should be discarded, but its role in the Article’s definition of MOD is far too central and too hard-edged. A definition that uses richer electoral history would be more robust and ultimately more meaningful than one built by pushing a single election through a black box of statistical inference.”³⁹

³⁷ Jowei Chen & Nicholas O. Stephanopoulos, “The Race-Blind Future of Voting Rights,” *Yale Law Journal*, 130 (2021), at 890, n.145.

³⁸ “Citizen Voting Age Population New Jersey,” <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=citizen%20voting%20age%20new%20jersey&tid=ACSS1Y2019.S2901>.

³⁹ Moon Duchin and Douglas M. Spencer, “Models Race and the Law,” *The Yale Journal Forum* 130 (2021), at 750.

This problem with EI can be verified through examples from the analyses presented by Grumbach and Chen. As shown in Table 4, their use of EI estimates varied widely for Hispanic voting behavior in these examples. We cannot compare results for white voting because Grumbach groups all non-Latinos together, and Chen generates separate estimates for Hispanics, whites, and other minorities. He also only reports his estimates for his purported Hispanic preferred candidate and not for any other candidate in the race.

These divergences between the Chen and Grumbach EI estimates matter. In the multi-candidate HD 40 2014 Democratic primary, Dr. Chen implausibly estimates that Mark Pasieka was the Hispanic candidate of choice of Hispanic voters with 35.5% of the Hispanic vote, despite finishing last overall with 303 votes, equaling 5.2%. However, Grumbach estimates far more plausibly that Jaime M. Andrade, Jr. was the candidate of choice of Hispanic voters with 56.3% of the Hispanic vote. Andrade topped all four other candidates with 50.2% of the total vote. It is impossible to compare the Grumbach and Chen estimates of Hispanic voting for Andrade because Chen only reports results for Pasieka, his purported candidate of choice for Hispanics. However, as indicated in Table 4, it is possible to compare Chen and Grumbach's estimates of the Hispanic vote for Pasieka. As shown the Table, Chen's EI estimate that Hispanics cast 35.5% of their vote for Pasieka is 27.6 percentage points above Grumbach's estimate of a 7.95% Hispanic vote for Pasieka. Grumbach's highest confidence level for the Hispanic vote for Pasieka (10.4%) is still 21.6 percentage points below the lowest confidence level for Chen's results (32%). My independent verification using ecological regression and the accompanying reality checks confirms the common-sense conclusion Grumbach, not Chen, correctly identified

TABLE 4
DIVERGENCES IN EI ESTIMATES OF HISPANIC VOTING BETWEEN EI
ANALYSES OF DR. GRUMBACH AND DR. CHEN

CHEN ESTIMATED CANDIDATE OF CHOICE, HISPANIC VOTERS	CHEN EI ESTIMATE OF HISPANIC VOTE FOR CANDIDATE	GRUMBACH EI ESTIMATE OF HISPANIC VOTE FOR CANDIDATE	DIFFERENCE IN EI ESTIMATES CHEN V. GRUMBACH	ACTUAL % OF TOTAL VOTE FOR CANDIDATE
HD 40 2014 DEM PRIM PASIEKA	35.5%	7.95%	CHEN +27.6 PERCENTAGE PTS	5.2%
COOK CO. 2018 DEM PRIM ASSESSOR BERRIOS	63.2%	53.95%	CHEN + 9.25 PERCENTAGE PTS	33.9%
Sources: Chen Declaration Tables 6, 7; Grumbach Declaration, Tables A1, A4.				

the Hispanic candidate of choice in this primary and that Chen's EI estimates were far off the mark.⁴⁰

For the 2018 primary for Cook County Assessor, Grumbach and Chen correctly identify Joseph Berrios as the candidate of choice for Hispanic voters. However, Chen's estimate of the Hispanic vote for Berrios is 9.25 percentage points higher than Grumbach's estimate. Chen's lowest confidence level for the Hispanic vote for Berrios (62%) is still 6.8 percentage points higher than Grumbach's highest confidence interval (55.2%) for the Hispanic Berrios vote. Notably, Chen uses his EI estimates for the 2018 Cook County Assessor race to assess opportunities for Hispanic candidates of choice in SB 927 and alternative plan districts.

The preceding analysis explains why it is important to independently verify EI estimates at least within a range of non-consequential error. In Figures 1 and 2 in the main body of his declaration (pp. 8-10) Dr. Grumbach provides results of his ecological inference analysis for 19 endogenous elections for state legislative positions in Cook County. However, he reports results only for the Hispanic candidates, the Hispanic preferred candidate cannot be identified from these Figures alone. For example, in the 2012 Democratic primary in Senate District 2 Grumbach reports that Hispanic candidate Montes, Jr. garnered 43% of the Hispanic vote. The more detailed information in his Appendix reveals that white candidate Steven Landek was the preferred candidate of Hispanic voters, with 57% of the Hispanic vote. Grumbach's Appendix

⁴⁰ For my independent verification I rely on the standard double-equation, weighted procedure, which according to Bernard Grofman, the expert witness for prevailing plaintiffs in *Thornburg v. Gingles* I developed independently. (p. 146). The method involves separate equations for each candidate, weighting by CVAP to adjust for differences in precinct population, and use of CVAP as the denominator for candidate percentages to adjust for turnout differentials. In my experience, experts independently using this method produce identical or nearly identical results. In extreme cases, where group voting for or against a candidate is at or close to the mathematical maximum, the method can on occasion produce estimates of greater than 100% or less than 0%. As Professor Grofman further noted, I developed methodology to deal with this issue, but I did not encounter it in any of my verifications or corrections of the work of Drs. Grumbach and Chen. And my results were confirmed by the reality checks explained above. Bernard Grofman, Lisa Handley, and Richard Neimi, *Minority Representation and the Quest for Voting Equality* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), at. 67, 146.

thus provides the information needed to discover his attributions of the Hispanic preferred candidates.

Table 5 reports the results of Dr. Grumbach's analysis of his 19 chosen endogenous state legislative elections from Appendix A, Table A1 (pp. 23-25). I have not deleted the two non-probative elections in districts with minimal Hispanic CVAP percentages or made any corrections or additions. This table presents results as reported by Dr. Grumbach in his Appendix, unchanged -- taken at face value. The only addition to the table is the column showing the actual outcome of each election, that is, whether Grumbach's identified Hispanic candidate of choice wins or loses. Dr. Grumbach does not list wins and losses. He is only concerned with whether Hispanics and non-Hispanics voted differently, not whether any differences are politically consequential.

The compilation of wins and losses for the Hispanic candidate of choice is the bottom line for determining whether white bloc voting could have defeated the Hispanic candidate of choice in the state legislative elections that Dr. Grumbach chose as probative for analysis. As

indicated in Table 5 and Chart 1, when taking Grumbach's results from his Appendix at face value with no changes, Hispanic candidates prevailed in 16 of 19 elections, for a win rate of 84%.

The information from Table 5 as depicted in Chart 2, yields another important statistic, the coalition rate, measured by the percentage of elections in which Hispanics and non-Hispanics have the same candidate of choice.⁴¹ As indicated in Table and Chart, Hispanics and non-Hispanics preferred the same candidates in 14 of 19 elections, for a coalition rate of 74%. This result indicates that Hispanics and non-Hispanics have found common ground in their choice of candidates for state legislative positions in Illinois.

However, Dr. Grumbach's results cannot uncritically be taken at face value. First, it is necessary to delete the two elections in districts with minimal Hispanic CVAP percentages (HD 19 and SD 6). With respect to the 2012 Democratic primary in HD 2 I could not verify that candidate Temoc Morfin was the candidate of choice of Hispanic voters. The differences between his Hispanic vote and that of another Hispanic Edward J. Acevedo, were too close for verification. The exclusion of this election makes little analytic difference.

Table 6 and Charts 3 and 4 present the revised results for the 16 remaining probative informative state legislative elections that Dr. Grumbach analyzed. For all elections, I was able to independently verify Dr. Grumbach's identification of the Hispanic preferred candidates. These revised results only slightly change the critical outcomes. As indicated in the Table and Charts, for the probative endogenous elections analyzed by Dr. Grumbach, the win rate for

⁴¹ No such finding is possible from Dr. Chen's declaration, which reports his EI estimates only for his alleged Hispanic preferred candidate.

TABLE 5
ANALYSIS OF 19 ENDOGENOUS ELECTIONS EXAMINED BY DR. GRUMBACH
UNALTERED RESULTS FROM GRUMBACH REPORT, RESULTS FROM APPENDIX
A, TABLE A.1, PP. 23-25

COUNT	DISTRICT & ELECTION	CAND. OF CHOICE OF HISPANIC VOTERS	% OF HISPANIC VOTE*	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF NON-HISP. VOTERS?	HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE WINS?*
1	HD 1 2018 DP	ORTIZ	61%	NO	YES
2	HD 2 2012 DP	MORFIN	61%	NO	NO
3	HD 2 2016 DP	ACEVEDO	66%	NO	NO
4	HD 2 2020 DP	MAH	61%	YES	YES
5	HD 4 2016 DP	SOTO	95%	YES	YES
6	HD 4 2018 DP	RAMIREZ	67%	YES	YES
7	HD 19 2020 DP	LAPOINTE	51%	YES	YES
8	HD 22 2012 DP	MADIGAN	82%	YES	YES
9	HD 22 2016 DP	MADIGAN	64%	YES	YES
10	HD 24 2016 GEN	HERNANDEZ	98%	YES	YES
11	HD 39 2012 DP	T. BERRIOS	65%	NO	YES
12	HD 39 2014 DP	T. BERRIOS	75%	NO	NO
13	HD 40 2014 DP	ANDRADE	56%	YES	YES
14	HD 40 2016 DP	ANDRADE	71%	YES	YES
15	HD 40 2020 DP	ANDRADE	33%	YES	YES
16	SD 6 2014 GEN	CULLERTON	79%	YES	YES
17	SD 11 2020 GEN	VILLANEUVA	97%	YES	YES
18	SD 12 2012 DP	LANDEK	57%	YES	YES
19	SD 20 2018 DP	MARTINEZ	73%	YES	YES
SUM: 16 WINS 3 LOSSES FOR HISPANIC PREFERRED CANDIDATES WIN RATE = 84%					
SUM: 14 OF 19 ELECTIONS WITH SAME PREFERRED CANDIDATE FOR HISPANICS AND NON-HISPANICS, COALITION RATE = 74%					
* Results from the website of the Illinois State Board of Elections, https://elections.il.gov/electionoperations/ElectionResults.aspx .					

CHART 1
WINS AND LOSSES FOR HISPANIC CANDIDATES OF CHOICE IN 19 STATE
LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY DR. GRUMBACH, FROM TABLE 3

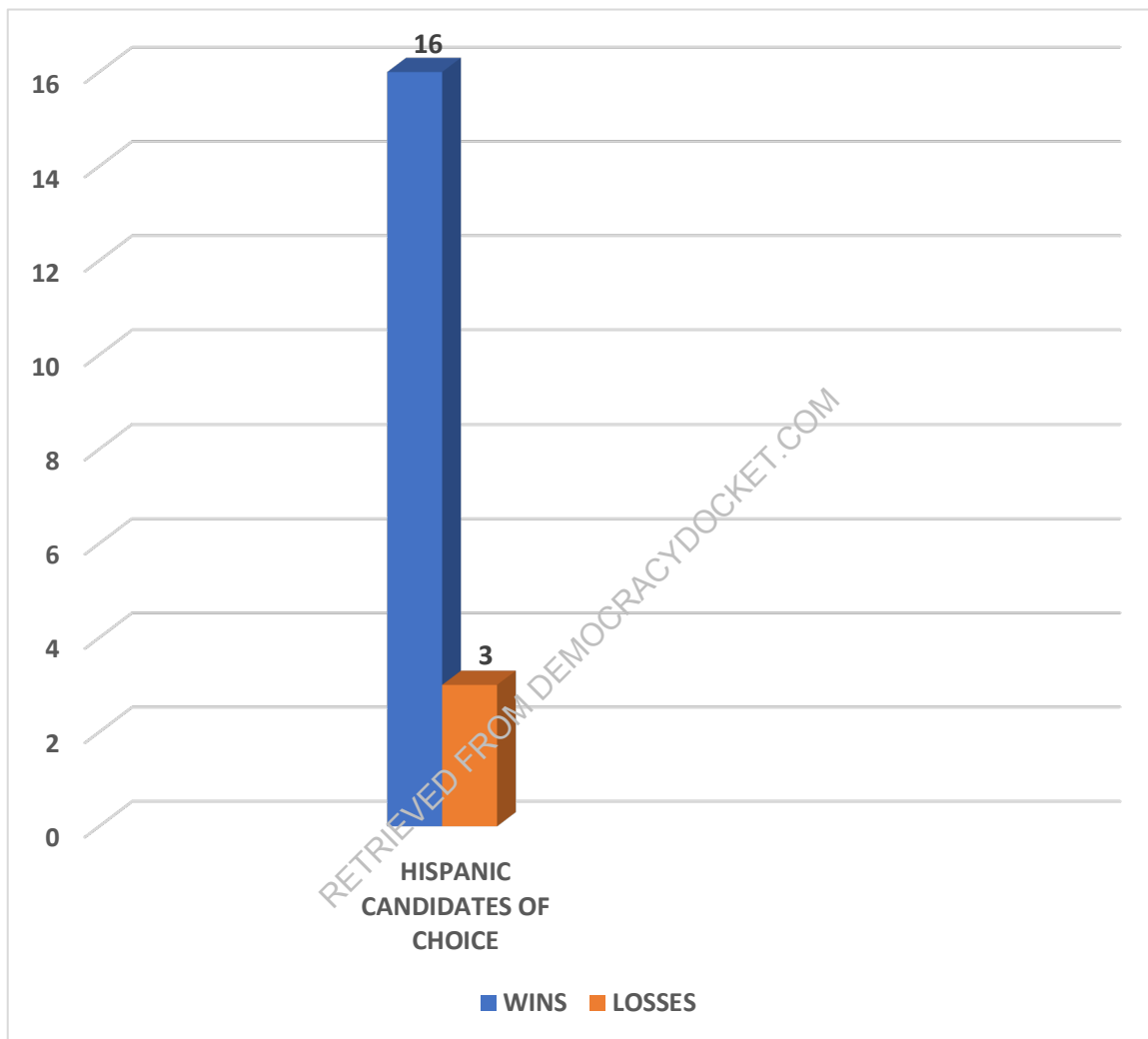
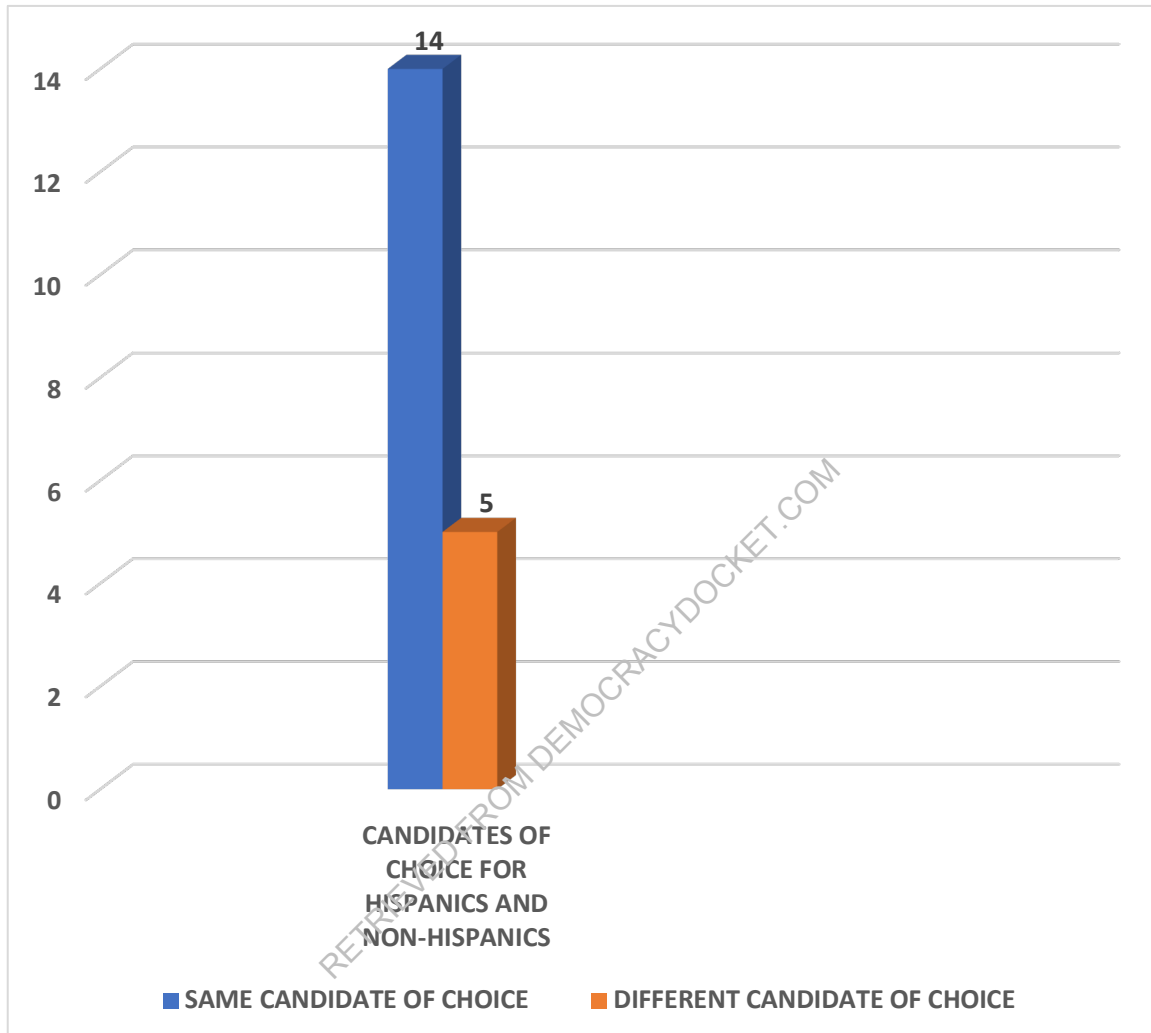


CHART 2
HISPANIC AND NON-HISPANIC COALITIONS IN 19 STATE LEGISLATIVE
ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY DR. GRUMBACH, FROM TABLE 3



Hispanic candidates of choice rises from 84% to 88%. The coalition rate increases from 74% to 75%.⁴²

The only change I made in the Hispanic voter estimates in Table 6 was to correct an error in Grumbach's EI estimate of the Hispanic vote for Hispanic candidate of choice Jaime M. Andrade, Jr. in the two-candidate election 2020 Democratic Primary in House District 40. Andrade prevailed with 65% of the vote. Yet Grumbach's EI procedure produced only an estimated 32.9% of the Hispanic vote for Andrade and 18.34% for his lone opponent. These two percentages add to only 51.2%, 48.8 percentage points short of the mathematically required 100%. Through ecological regression and the checks available in the procedure that Grumbach correctly identified Andrade as the Hispanic preferred candidate, but with 72 percent of the Hispanic vote. The correction is indicated on Table 6 and does not affect win rates or coalition rates.

Dr. Grumbach also analyzes exogenous elections for positions other than state legislature, although he does not isolate white voting. However, any counting of assessment of wins and losses for Hispanic candidates of choice in these exogenous elections is unavailing for assessing Hispanic voter opportunities in challenged districts. Most are analyzed for Cook

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TABLE 6
REVISED COMPILATION OF 16 ENDOGENOUS ELECTIONS EXAMINED BY DR.
GRUMBACH

COUNT	DISTRICT & ELECTION	CAND. OF CHOICE OF HISPANIC VOTERS	% OF HISPANIC VOTE*	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF NON-HISP. VOTERS?	HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE WINS?*
1	HD 1 2018 DP	ORTIZ	61%	NO	YES
2	HD 2 2016 DP	ACEVEDO	66%	NO	NO
3	HD 2 2020 DP	MAH	61%	YES	YES
4	HD 4 2016 DP	SOTO	95%	YES	YES
5	HD 4 2018 DP	RAMIREZ	67%	YES	YES
6	HD 22 2012 DP	MADIGAN	82%	YES	YES
7	HD 22 2016 DP	MADIGAN	64%	YES	YES
8	HD 24 2016 GEN	HERNANDEZ	98%	YES	YES
9	HD 39 2012 DP	BERRIOS	65%	NO	YES
10	HD 39 2014 DP	BERRIOS	75%	NO	NO
11	HD 40 2014 DP	ANDRADE	56%	YES	YES
12	HD 40 2016 DP	ANDRADE	71%	YES	YES
13	HD 40 2020 DP	ANDRADE	72%*	YES	YES
14	SD 11 2020 GEN	VILLANEUVA	97%	YES	YES
15	SD 12 2012 DP	LANDEK	57%	YES	YES
16	SD 20 2018 DP	MARTINEZ	73%	YES	YES
SUM: 14 WINS, 2 LOSSES FOR HISPANIC PREFERRED CANDIDATES, 3 LOSSES WIN RATE = 88%					
SUM: 12 OF 16 ELECTIONS WITH SAME PREFERRED CANDIDATE FOR HISPANICS AND NON-HISPANICS, COALITION RATE = 75%					
* Corrected percentage.					

CHART 3
WINS AND LOSSES FOR HISPANIC CANDIDATES OF CHOICE IN REVISED 16
STATE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY DR. GRUMBACH, FROM
TABLE 6

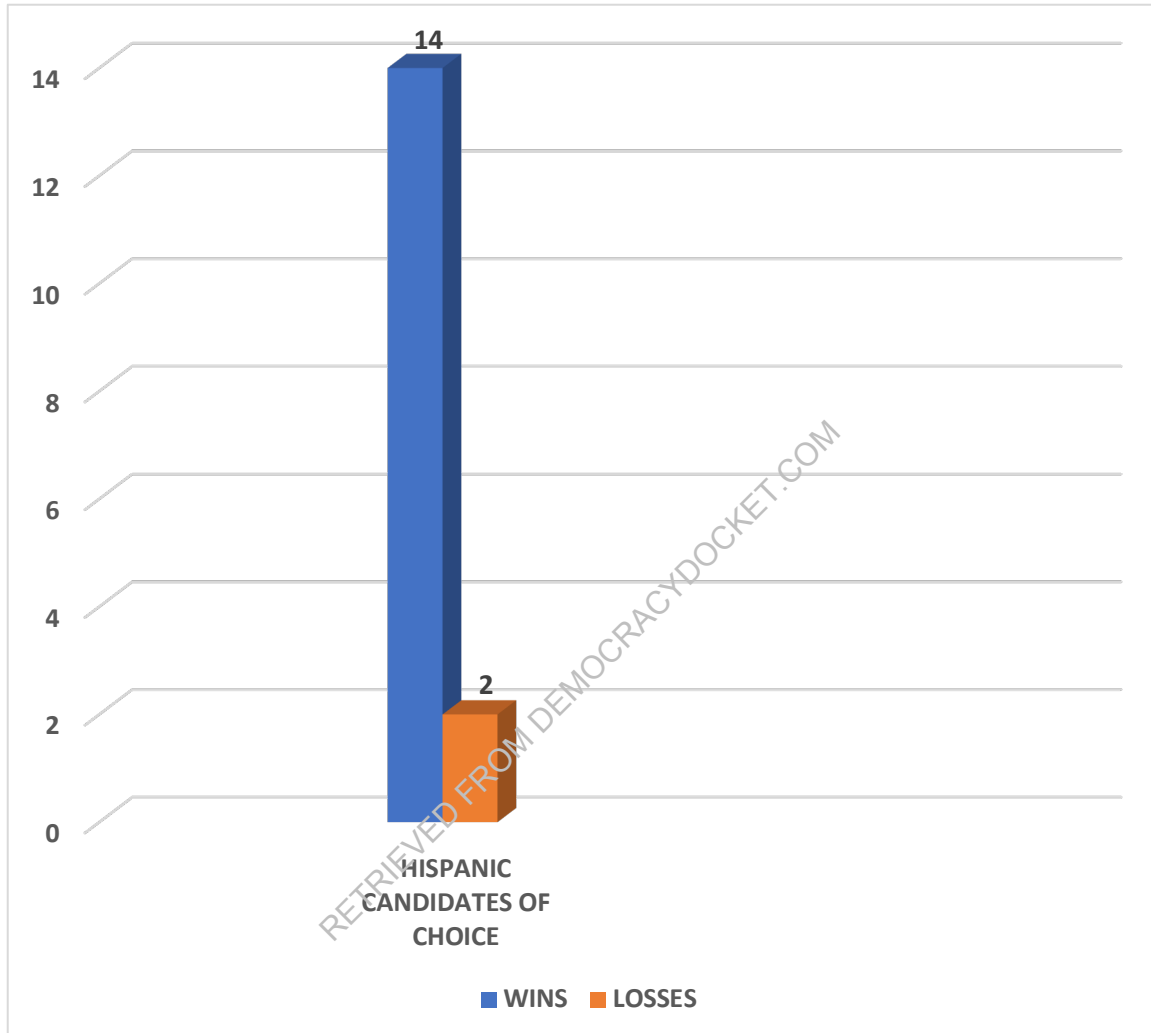
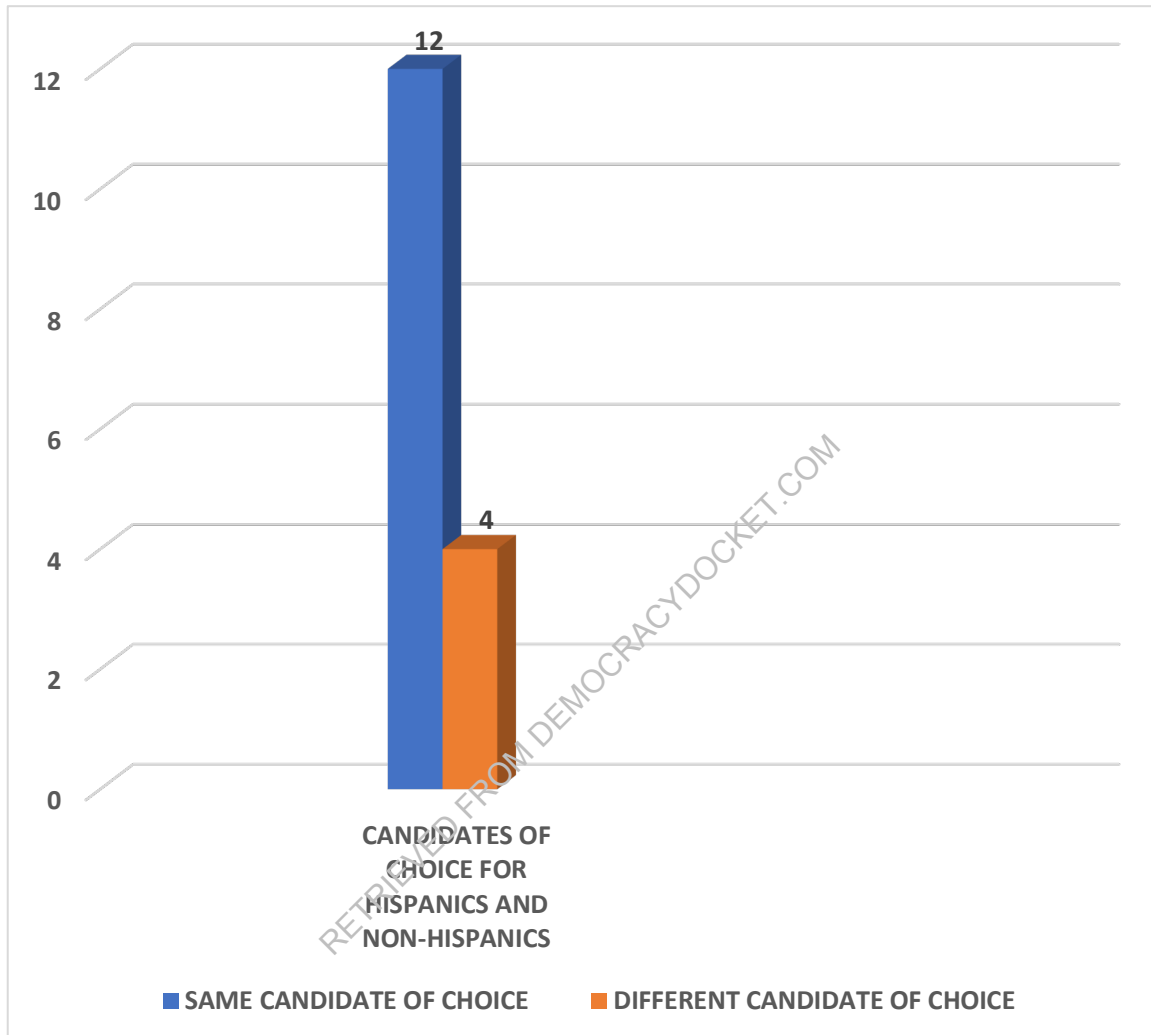


CHART 4
HISPANIC AND NON-HISPANIC COALITIONS IN REVISED 16 STATE
LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY DR. GRUMBACH, FROM TABLE 6

a



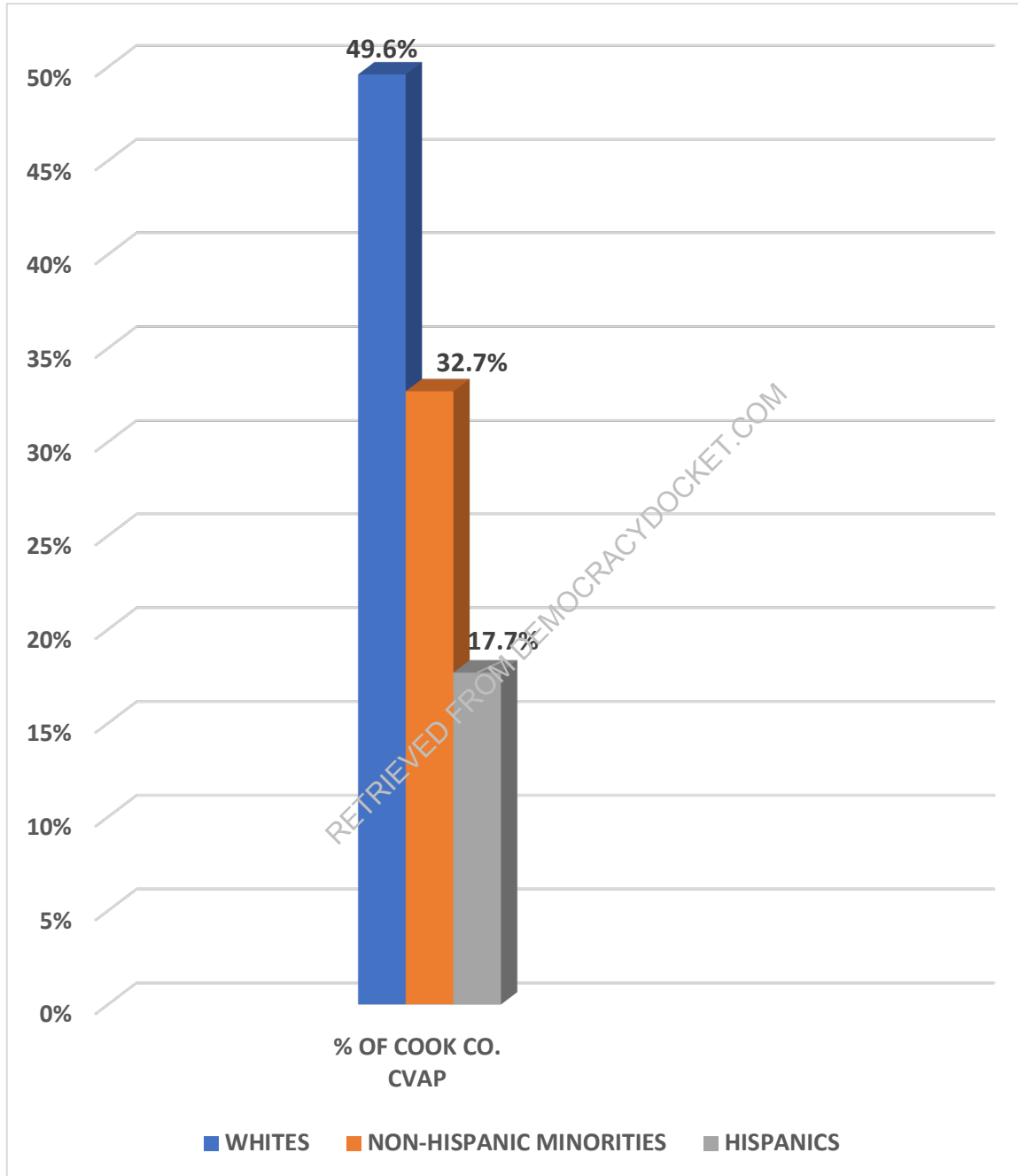
County, where the Hispanic CVAP for Cook County is 17.7% or for the city of Chicago where it is 20.7%.⁴³

Beyond these low Hispanic CVAP percentages, the distribution of non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and non-Hispanic minorities in Cook County and Chicago differs markedly from any challenged districts in Table 1 or any current districts. Chart 5 displays the CVAP percentages for non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic minorities, and Hispanics in Cook County. As shown in Chart 5, the non-Hispanic white CVAP percentage in Cook County is nearly triple the Hispanic CVAP, and white CVAP percentage is almost double the Black CVAP percentage. Chart 6 displays this data for Chicago. No challenged district, as indicated in Table 1, even approximates these racial group percentages.

Dr. Chen's declaration provides additional information, with significant cautions and corrections. Like Dr. Grumbach, Dr. Chen chose a set of endogenous state legislative elections that he deemed probative for analysis. However, as shown in Table 7, there is a wide divergence between the endogenous elections considered probative by the two experts. There were eight endogenous elections that Dr. Grumbach but not Dr. Chen, analyzed and ten elections that Dr. Chen but not Dr. Grumbach studied. I will reconcile these discrepancies below, creating a combined database of probative endogenous state legislative elections.

⁴³ U.S. Census, American Community Survey, "Citizen Voting Age Population, 2015 to 2019," <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/voting-rights/cvap.2019.html>. I also note in passing that the Hispanic candidates of choice won a majority of the exogenous elections that Dr. Grumbach chose to analyze or advanced to the runoff in the Chicago general mayoral election of 2015.

**CHART 5
RACIAL GROUPS IN COOK COUNTY BY CVAP**



**CHART 6
RACIAL GROUPS IN CHICAGO BY CVAP**

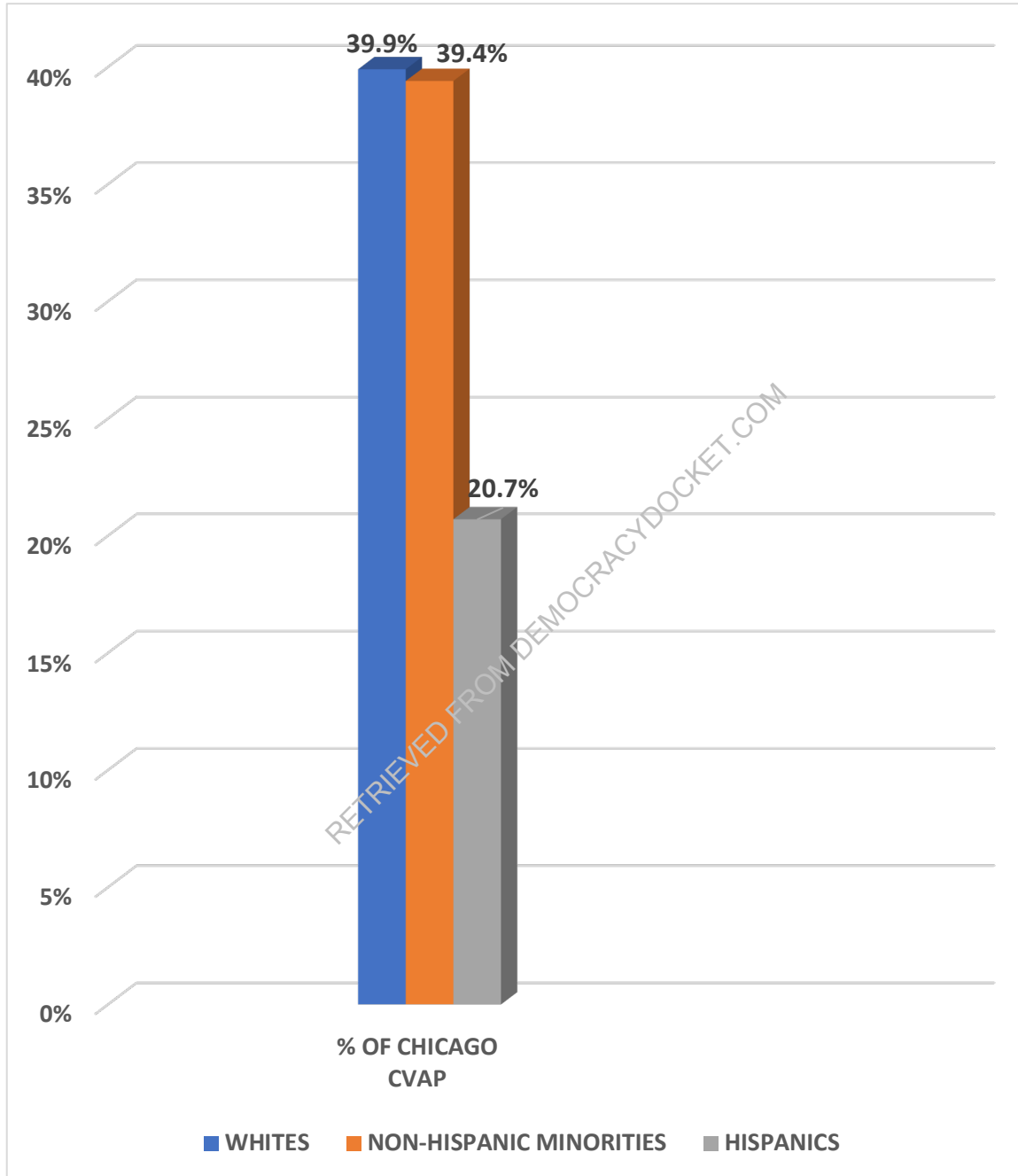


TABLE 7
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DR. GRUMBACH AND DR. CHEN IN ENDOGENOUS
STAT LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS CHOSEN FOR ANALYSIS FOR HISPANIC
VOTING PATTERNS IN COOK COUNTY

COUNT	ENDOGENOUS ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY GRUMBACH AND NOT BY CHEN	ENDOGENOUS ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY CHEN AND NOT BY GRUMBACH
1	House District 2 2012 Dem Prim	House District 5 2016 Dem Prim
2	House District 2 2020 Dem Prim	House District 5 2018 Dem Prim
3	House District 4 2016 Dem Prim	House District 10 2016 General
4	House District 19 2020 Dem Prim	House District 35 2012 General
5	House District 22 2012 Dem Prim	House District 40 2012 General
6	House District 40 2020 Dem Prim	House District 10 2020 Dem Primary
7	Senate District 6 2014 General	Senate District 22 2016 General
8	Senate District 12 2012 Dem Prim	Senate District 5 2016 Dem Prim
9		Senate District 22 2016 Dem Primary
10		House District 77 2014 Dem Prim

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For strictly informational, not analytic purposes, Table 8 reports Dr. Chen's results for the 23 endogenous elections he analyzed in his declaration. The results are taken at face value, with no corrections or deletions. The information presented in Table 8 demonstrates that Hispanic candidates of choice prevailed in 14 of the 23 elections for a win rate of 61%. Hispanic and whites had the same candidate of choice in 12 of 23 elections, for a coalition rate of 52%. However, these face-value result fail to even approximate an accurate win or coalition rate for Hispanic candidates of choice in Hispanic v. non-Hispanic elections in probative state legislative districts. Instead, the results are marred by serious errors of omission, commission, and calculation.

For errors of omission, Dr. Chen fails to analyze five probative Hispanic v. non-Hispanic elections that Dr. Grumbach studied:

- * House District 2 2020 Democratic Primary:
- * House District 4 2016 Democratic Primary:
- * House District 22 2012 Democratic Primary:
- * House District 40 2020 Democratic Primary
- * Senate District 12 2012 Democratic Primary

While omitting these five probative state legislative elections, Dr. Chen includes

TABLE 8
ANALYSIS OF 23 ENDOGENOUS ELECTIONS EXAMINED BY DR. CHEN, CHEN
DECLARATION, TABLE 6

COUNT	DISTRICT & ELECTION	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF HISPANIC VOTERS PER CHEN	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF WHITE VOTERS? ⁴⁴	HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE WINS?
ENDOGENOUS ELECTIONS				
1	2012 HD 35 GENERAL	FERNANDEZ	NO	NO
2	2012 HDS 40 GENERAL	JOHNSON	NO	NO
3	HD 39 2012 DEM PRIM	BERRIOS	NO	YES
4	HD 40 2014 DEM PRIM	PASIEKA	NO	NO
5	HD 39 2014 DEM PRIM	BERRIOS	NO	NO
6	HD 77 2016 DEM PRIM	WILLIS	YES	YES
7	HD 10 2016 GENERAL	CONYEARS	YES	YES
8	HD 24 2016 GENERAL	HERNANDEZ	YES	YES
9	SD 22 2016 GENERAL	CASTRO	YES	YES
10	HD 2 2016 PRIMARY	ACEVEDO	YES	NO
11	SD 22 2016 PRIMARY	CASTRO	YES	YES
12	HD 22 2016 DEM PRIMARY	MADIGAN	YES	YES
13	HD 5 2016 DEM PRIMARY	STRATTON	YES	YES
14	SD 5 2016 DEM PRIMARY	VAN PELT	YES	YES
15	HD 1 2018 DEM PRIMARY	ORTIZ	NO	YES
16	HD 4 2018 DEM PRIM	RAMIREZ	NO	YES
17	HD 5 2018 DEM PRIMARY	SAYEED	NO	NO
18	SD 20 2018 DEM PRIM	MARTINEZ	YES	YES
19	SD 25 2018 DEM PRIMARY	MILES	NO	NO
20	SD 1 2020 GENERAL	VILLANEUVA	YES	YES
21	HD 10 2020 DEM PRIMARY	ZUCCARO	NO	NO
22	SD 2 2020 DEM PRIMARY	CASTRO	YES	YES
23	SD 40 2020 DEM PRIMARY	WILCOX	NO	NO
SUM: 14 WINS 9 LOSSES FOR HISPANIC PREFERRED CANDIDATES WIN RATE = 61%				
SUM: 12 OF 23 ELECTIONS WITH SAME PREFERRED CANDIDATE FOR HISPANICS AND WHITES, COALITION RATE = 52%				

⁴⁴ Dr. Grumbach combines all non-Hispanic voters, including whites, blacks, Asians, and other minorities into a single category of non-Hispanic voters. He does not separately analyze white voting. Dr. Chen does not provide an analysis of combined non-Hispanic voters but does separately examine white voting. However, the evidence points to little divergence between these measures. Where Grumbach and Chen examined the same elections, they Hispanic preferred candidate for white or combined minority voters is the same. The one exception is the 2016 Democratic primary in House District 2. Hispanic preferred candidate Acevedo won both the Hispanic and white vote, but narrowly lost to Asian candidate Mah because of an overwhelming vote against him by non-Hispanic, non-white minorities, mostly Asian, in this district which has a 23.8% Asian CVAP

Among his twenty-three exogenous elections, seven are non-probative elections with Hispanic CVAP percentages that are too low for an informative assessment of wins and losses for Hispanic candidates of choice, or reliable estimation. Several of these districts also predictably include no Hispanic candidates:

- 1) 2012 General Election, House District 35 7.07% Hispanic CVAP
- 2) 2016 General Election, House District 10 11.4% Hispanic CVAP
- 3) 2020 Democratic Primary, House District 10, 11.4% Hispanic CVAP
- 4) 2016 Democratic Primary, Senate District 5 10.2% Hispanic CVAP
- 5) 2016 Democratic Primary, House District 5 4.4% Hispanic CVAP
- 6) 2018 Democratic Primary, Senate District 25 10.7% Hispanic CVAP
- 7) 2020 Democratic Primary, Senate District 40 7.8% Hispanic CVAP

The Hispanic CVAP percentages in these districts range narrowly from just 4.4% to 11.4%.

Among these puzzling choices, House District 5 is a Black opportunity district with a 47.9% Black CVAP and only a 4.4% Hispanic CVAP. No Hispanic candidate competed in either of the two elections analyzed by Dr. Chen for this district. Black candidate Juliana Stratton (now Lt. Governor) won the 2016 Democratic primary in House District 5 with 68% of the vote and Black candidate Lamont J. Robinson, Jr., the current incumbent, won the four-candidate 2018 Democratic primary in House District 5 by 13.5 percentage points. Similarly, Senate District 5 is a Black opportunity district with a 47.7 percent black CVAP percentage and only a 10.0% Hispanic CVAP. No Hispanic candidates competed in the Senate District 5 2016 primary, which was won by Black candidate, and current incumbent Patricia Van Belt with win 67.9% of the vote.

Further, Dr. Chen misidentifies the 2018 Democratic primary involving candidate Anne Marie Miles, his identified candidate of choice, in Senate District 25. That primary actually took place in *House District 25*. HD 25 is yet another Black opportunity district, with a Black CVAP percentage of 53.1% and a Hispanic CVAP percentage of only 20%. No Hispanic candidates competed in the 2018 primary in House District 25, in which current Black incumbent Curtis J. Tarver II prevailed.

Dr. Chen's analysis of endogenous state legislative elections also includes two consequential calculation errors. Dr. Chen errs in identifying Pasieka as the Hispanic candidate of choice in the 2014 Democratic primary in House District 40. Pasieka garnered just 303 votes in this primary or 5.2%, in a district that is 35.4% Hispanic CVAP. Dr. Grumbach's results, which, as noted above, I was able to verify independently, show that Andrade, who garnered 50.2% of the vote in a five-candidate contest, was the candidate of choice of Hispanic voters.

Another error occurs in Dr. Chen's identification of the Hispanic preferred candidate in the 2012 General Election in House District 40. Chen identifies Hispanic Republican challenger Antoinette "Toni" Puccio-Johnson as the Hispanic candidate of choice rather than white Democrat Deborah Mell. His reported results show that Johnson garnered 72% of the Hispanic vote and also won 51.4% of the non-Hispanic minority vote, thus sweeping the non-white vote in the district. He finds that she garnered just 18.8% of the white vote.

These results are implausible on their face because we know that Hispanics, Blacks, and Asians are overwhelmingly Democratic in Illinois general elections. If Republican candidate Johnson had indeed dominated the minority, it would have been big news, noted by observers on the ground. No such news emerged from the commentary on this election.

Mell won the 2012 HD 35 general election, dominating 81.6% of the vote compared to 18.4% for Johnson. Mathematically, it is impossible for Johnson at 18.4% to have won 72.4% of the Hispanic vote, 51.4% of the non-Hispanic minority vote, and 18.8% of the white vote, no matter the weight for any of these racial group results. Chen's results are mathematically impossible, even at the lowest end of his internal EI confidence intervals. The low end of his confidence intervals for the Johnson vote are 33.8% for Hispanic voters, 18.6% for white voters and 20.6% for other minority voters. All three measures are above the actual vote of 18.4% for Johnson in the district. For Dr. Chen's estimates of the highest confidence for Johnson, her level of 97.8% for Hispanics exceeds her actual vote by 79.0 percentage points. The highest confidence level for other minorities of 75.2%, exceeds her actual vote by 56.4 percentage points. The highest confidence level for whites exceeds her actual vote by just 0.5 percentage points. It is also notable that his confidence interval for the Hispanic vote for Johnson is 64 percentage points wide, ranging from 33.8% to 97.8%.

My independent analysis of the 2012 general election in House District 40, using ecological regression and its reality checks, reaches the plausible finding that Mell, not Johnson, was the candidate of choice of Hispanic voters with 95% of the Hispanic vote. She was also the candidate of choice of white voters, winning 75% of the white vote. The percentage of other minorities in the district is too small for reliable measurement. However, the analysis shows that Mell won more than 90% of the overall minority vote. Unlike those of Dr. Chen, these estimates reproduce the actual 81.6% vote for Mell in this election.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ For a reality check we can examine the actual votes for Mell and Johnson in the six most concentrated minority precincts in House District 40. These precincts had an average minority percentage of 69.3% and cast a robust 2,368 votes. Mell won 1,960 votes compared to just 408 for Johnson, for a disparity of 82.8% to 17.2%. These results confirm that it was Mell not Johnson who won most minority votes.

Table 9 and Charts 7 and 8 depict the Hispanic preferred candidates for Dr. Chen's endogenous elections, with the omissions and corrections indicated above. As indicated in Table 9 and Chart 7, the results show that Hispanic preferred candidates won 13 of 15 state legislative elections, for a win rate of 87%, virtually identical to the win rate from the analysis of Dr. Grumbach's corrected analysis of endogenous state legislative elections. As further indicated in Table 9 and Chart 8, the results show that Hispanics and whites shared the same candidate of choice in 11 of 15 state legislative elections, again virtually identical to the finding above for a coalition rate of 73%.

However, Dr. Grumbach has analyzed probative state legislative elections that Dr. Chen did not, and, in turn, Dr. Chen has analyzed probative state legislative elections that Dr. Grumbach did not. Table 10 provides a comprehensive corrected database of probative state legislative elections analyzed by either of the two plaintiffs' experts to adjust for these discrepancies. That is, it merges Table 6 and Table 9, while eliminating overlaps.

This comprehensive database of 23 probative state legislative elections is more than sufficient for concluding whether white bloc voting usually defeats Hispanic preferred candidates. The decisive test is whether the Hispanic candidate of choice wins the primary or general election in the district. If so, then white bloc voting could not have been sufficient to defeat the Hispanic candidate of choice.

TABLE 9
ANALYSIS OF ENDOGENOUS ELECTIONS EXAMINED BY DR. CHEN, CHEN
DECLARATION, TABLE 6, CORRECTED

COUNT	DISTRICT & ELECTION	CANDIDATE. OF CHOICE OF HISPANIC VOTERS	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF WHITE VOTERS?	HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE WINS?
ENDOGENOUS ELECTIONS				
1	2012 HDS 40 GENERAL	MELL	YES	YES
2	HD 39 2012 DEM PRIM	BERRIOS	NO	YES
3	HD 40 2014 DEM PRIM	ANDRADE	YES	YES
4	HD 39 2014 DEM PRIM	BERRIOS	NO	NO
5	HD 77 2016 DEM PRIM	WILLIS	YES	YES
6	HD 24 2016 GENERAL	HERNANDEZ	YES	YES
7	SD 22 2016 GENERAL	CASTRO	YES	YES
8	HD 2 2016 PRIMARY	ACEVEDO	YES	NO
9	SD 22 2016 PRIMARY	CASTRO	YES	YES
10	HD 22 2016 DEM PRIMARY	MADIGAN	YES	YES
11	HD 1 2018 DEM PRIMARY	ORTIZ	NO	YES
12	HD 4 2018 DEM PRIM	RAMIREZ	NO	YES
13	SD 20 2018 DEM PRIM	MARTINEZ	YES	YES
14	SD 11 2020 GENERAL	VILLANEUVA	YES	YES
15	SD 22 2020 DEM PRIMARY	CASTRO	YES	YES
SUM: 13 WINS, 2 LOSSES FOR HISPANIC PREFERRED CANDIDATES, 3 LOSSES WIN RATE = 87%				
SUM: 11 OF 15 ELECTIONS WITH SAME PREFERRED CANDIDATE FOR HISPANICS AND NON-HISPANICS, COALITION RATE = 73%				

CHART 7
WINS AND LOSSES FOR HISPANIC CANDIDATES OF CHOICE IN REVISED 15
STATE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY DR. CHEN, FROM TABLE 10

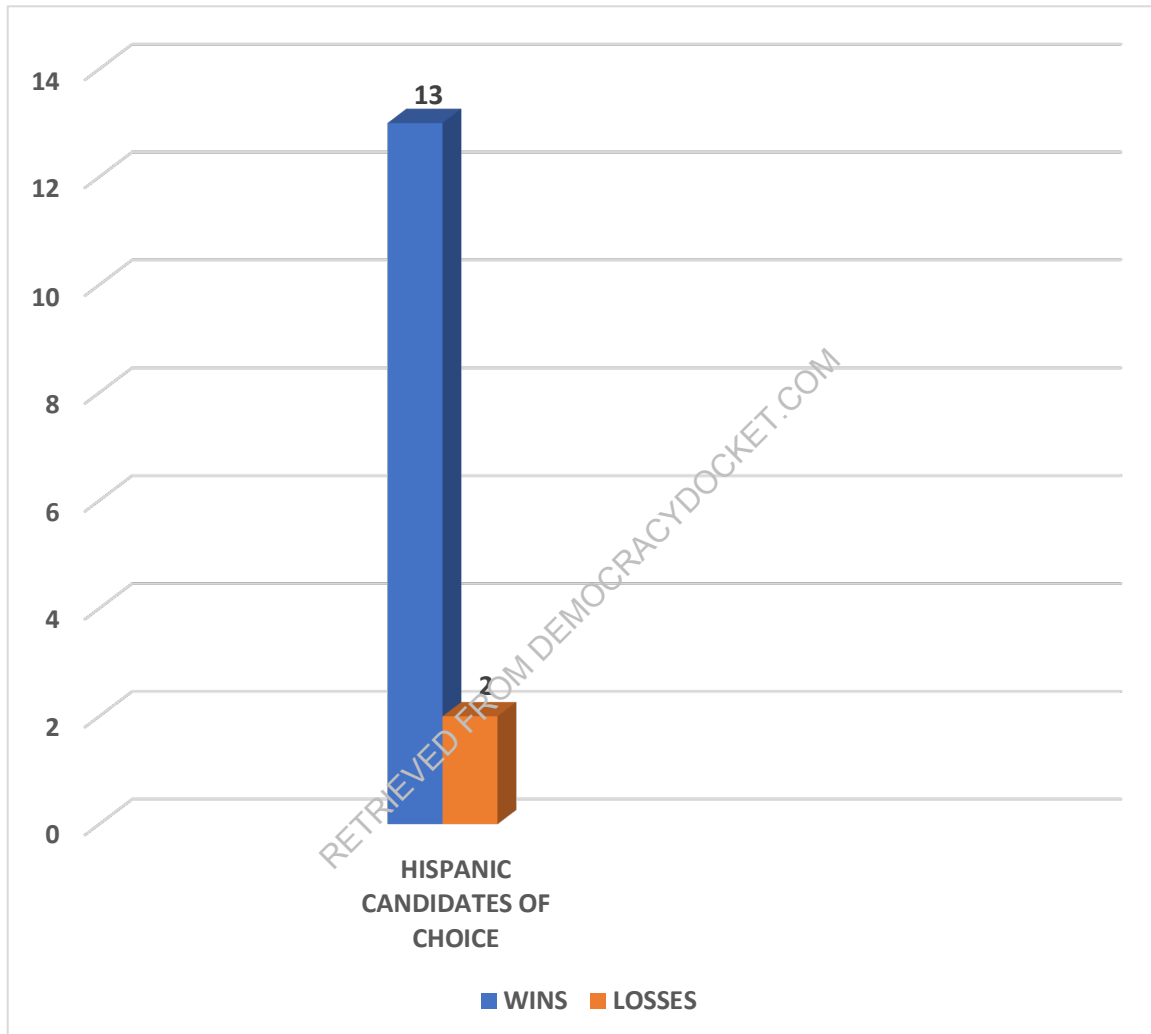
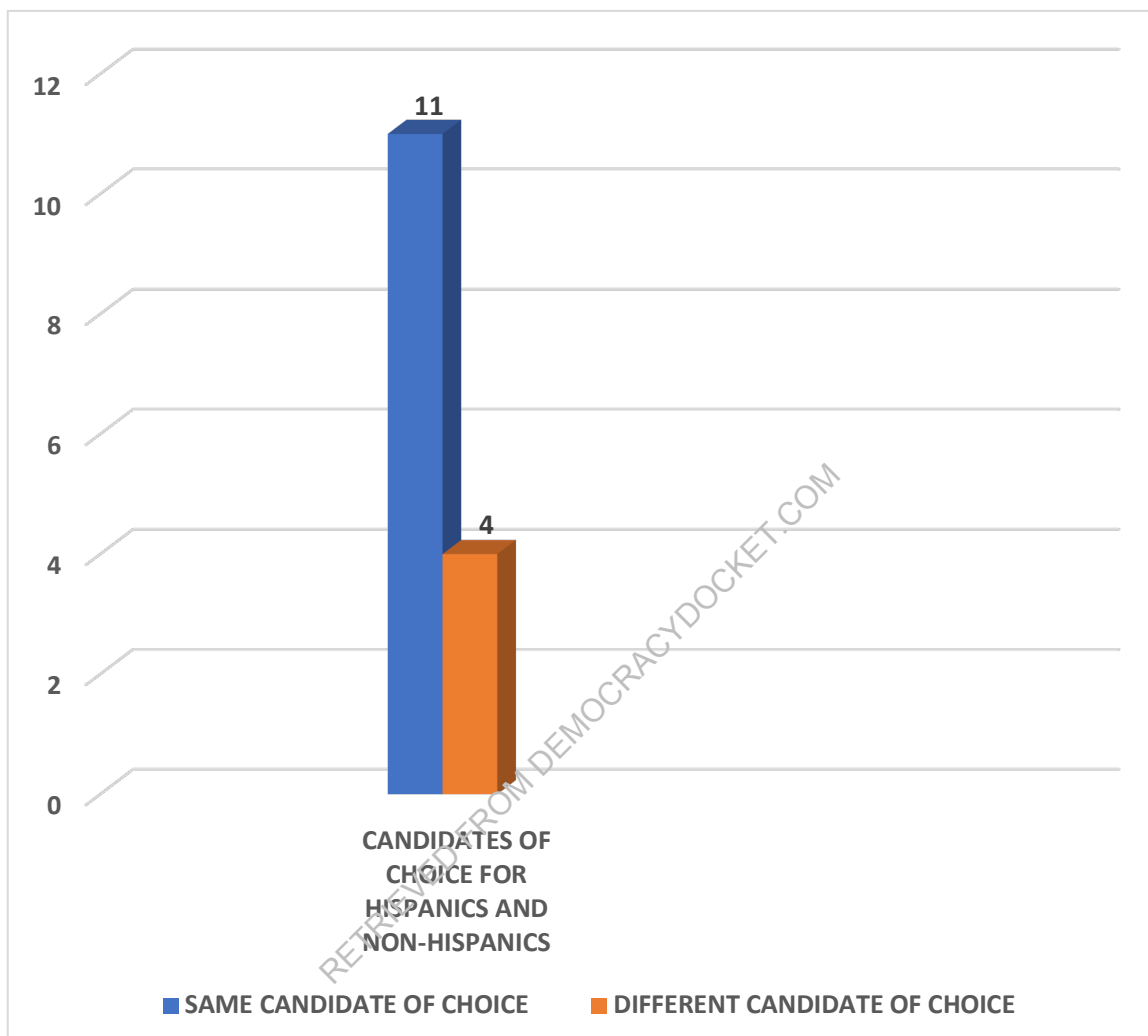


CHART 8
HISPANIC AND NON-HISPANIC COALITIONS IN REVISED 15 STATE
LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY DR. CHEN, FROM TABLE 10



As demonstrated in Table 10 and Chart 9, white bloc voting defeated the Hispanic candidate of choice in only 2 of 23 probative state legislative elections analyzed by either Dr. Grumbach or Dr. Chen. Instead, Hispanic candidates of choice prevailed in 21 of the 23 elections for a win rate of 91%. *Thus, across five elections cycles since the post-2010 redistricting, only two Hispanic preferred candidates have been defeated by white bloc voting in all districts with a minimum of 27.9% Hispanic CVAP.*

Both of these losses came in untypical elections. In 2014, white candidate Will Guzzardi defeated Hispanic preferred candidate Maria Antonia Berrios (also known as “Toni” Berrios in the House District 39 Democratic primary. However, Berrios had won the 2012 primary against Guzzardi, so District 39 split evenly in electing the Hispanic preferred candidate. Moreover, Guzzardi’s 2014 victory was unrelated to the fact that at 48.6% Hispanic CVAP, HD 39 fell just short of plaintiffs’ 50%+ threshold. Guzzardi defeated Berrios in 2014 by a landslide margin of 20.8 percentage points. He won 60.4% of the vote, compared to just 39.6% for Berrios. Given the magnitude of his landslide, Guzzardi would have easily prevailed even if the district was 65% Hispanic CVAP. No candidate challenged Guzzardi again in a HD 39 Democratic primary after 2014. Under the *McConchie* plaintiffs’ proposed plan, the Hispanic CVAP in HD 39 would rise by just 1.6 percentage points to 50.2%. Under the *Contreras* plaintiffs proposed plan, the Hispanic CVAP would increase by just 1.9 percentage points to 50.5%⁴⁶

In the 2016 Democratic primary in House District 2, the Hispanic preferred candidate Alex Acevedo narrowly lost by 2.5 percentage points to an Asian candidate, Theresa Mah. He did not lose because of white bloc voting, but as indicated in Table A1 of the Grumbach report from overwhelming opposition by non-Latinos in his heavily Asian district, with a 23.8% Asian

⁴⁶ From Plan Matrix submitted by *McConchie* plaintiffs and Plan Matrix submitted by *Contreras* plaintiffs.

TABLE 10
CORRECTED ANALYSIS OF ENDOGENOUS ELECTIONS WITH HISPANIC v. NON-
HISPANIC CANDIDATES ANALYZED BY DR. GRUMBACH OR DR. CHEN

COUNT	ELECTIONS EXAMINED BY GRUMBACH OR CHEN	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF HISPANIC VOTERS	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF WHITE OR NON-HISP. VOTERS?	HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE WINS?
ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY GRUMBACH OR CHEN				
1	HD 22 2012 DEM PRIM	MADIGAN	YES	YES
2	HD 39 2012 DEM PRIM	T. BERRIOS	NO	YES
3	HD 40 2012 GENERAL	MELL	YES	YES
4	SD 12 2020 DEM PRIMARY	LANDEK	YES	YES
5	HD 4 2016 DEM PRIM	SOTO	YES	YES
6	HD 40 2014 DEM PRIM	ANDRADE	YES	YES
7	HD 39 2014 DEM PRIM	T. BERRIOS	NO	NO
8	HD 40 2016 DEM PRIM	ANDRADE	YES	YES
9	HD 40 2020 DEM PRIM	ANDRADE	YES	YES
10	HD 77 2014 DEM PRIM	WILLIS	YES	YES
11	HD 24 2016 GENERAL	HERNANDEZ	YES	YES
12	SD 22 2016 GENERAL	CASTRO	YES	YES
13	HD 2 2016 PRIMARY	ACEVEDO	YES	NO
14	SD 22 2016 PRIMARY	CASTRO	YES	YES
15	HD 22 2016 DEM PRIMARY	MADIGAN	YES	YES
16	HD 1 2018 DEM PRIMARY	ORTIZ	NO	YES
17	HD 4 2018 DEM PRIM	RAMIREZ	NO	YES
18	SD 20 2018 DEM PRIM	MARTINEZ	YES	YES
19	HD 2 2020 DEM PRIM	MAH	YES	YES
20	HD 40 2020 DEM PRIM	ANDRADE	YES	YES
21	SD 11 2020 GENERAL	VILLANEUVA	YES	YES
SUM: 19 WINS, 2 LOSSES FOR HISPANIC PREFERRED CANDIDATES, WIN RATE = 90.5%				
SUM: 17 of 21 ELECTIONS WITH SAME PREFERRED CANDIDATE FOR HISPANICS AND NON-HISPANICS, OR WHITES COALITION RATE = 81%				

CHART 9
WINS AND LOSSES FOR HISPANIC CANDIDATES OF CHOICE IN ELECTIONS
ANALYZED BY EITHER DR. GRUMBACH OR DR. CHEN, FROM TABLE 11

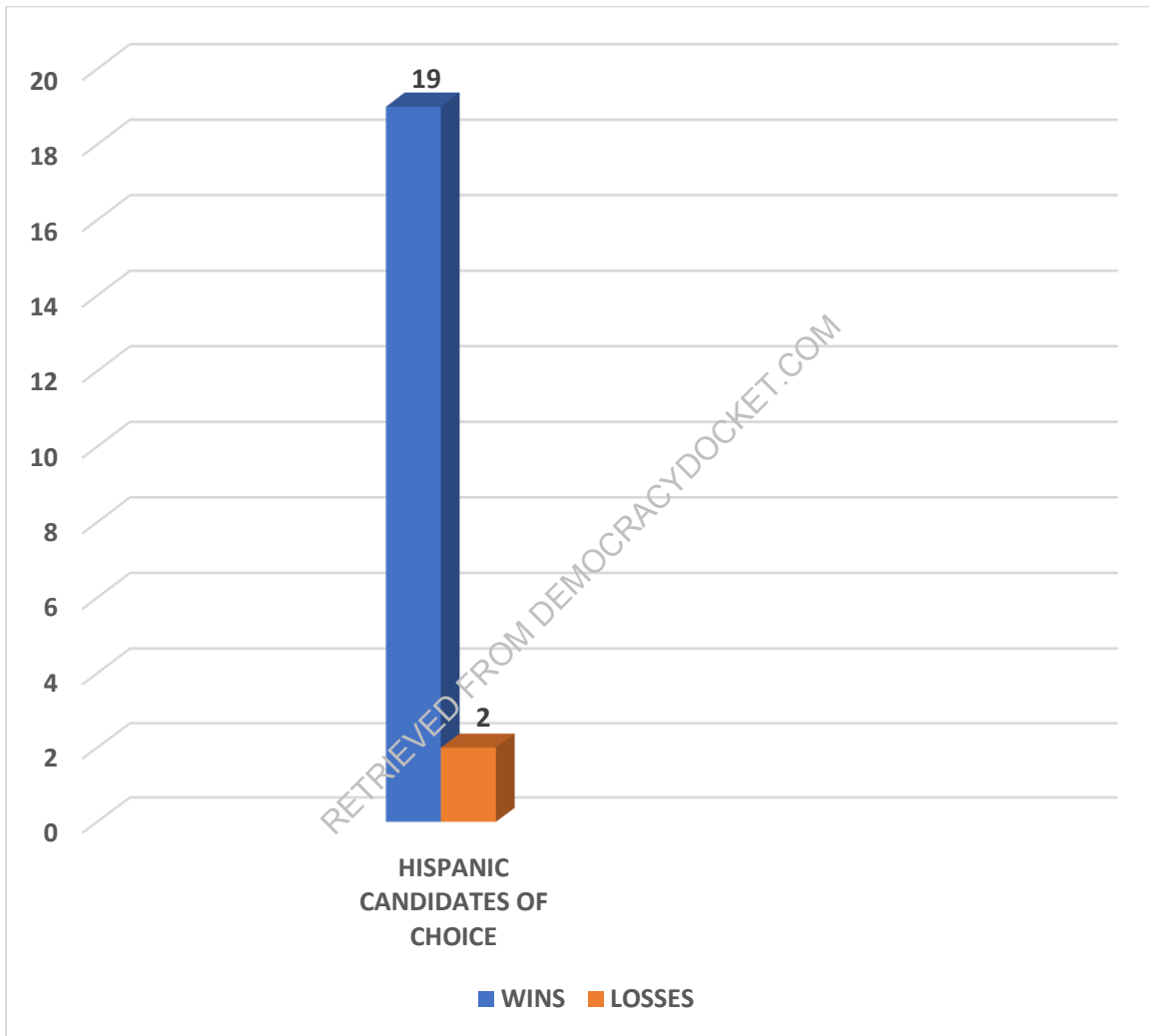
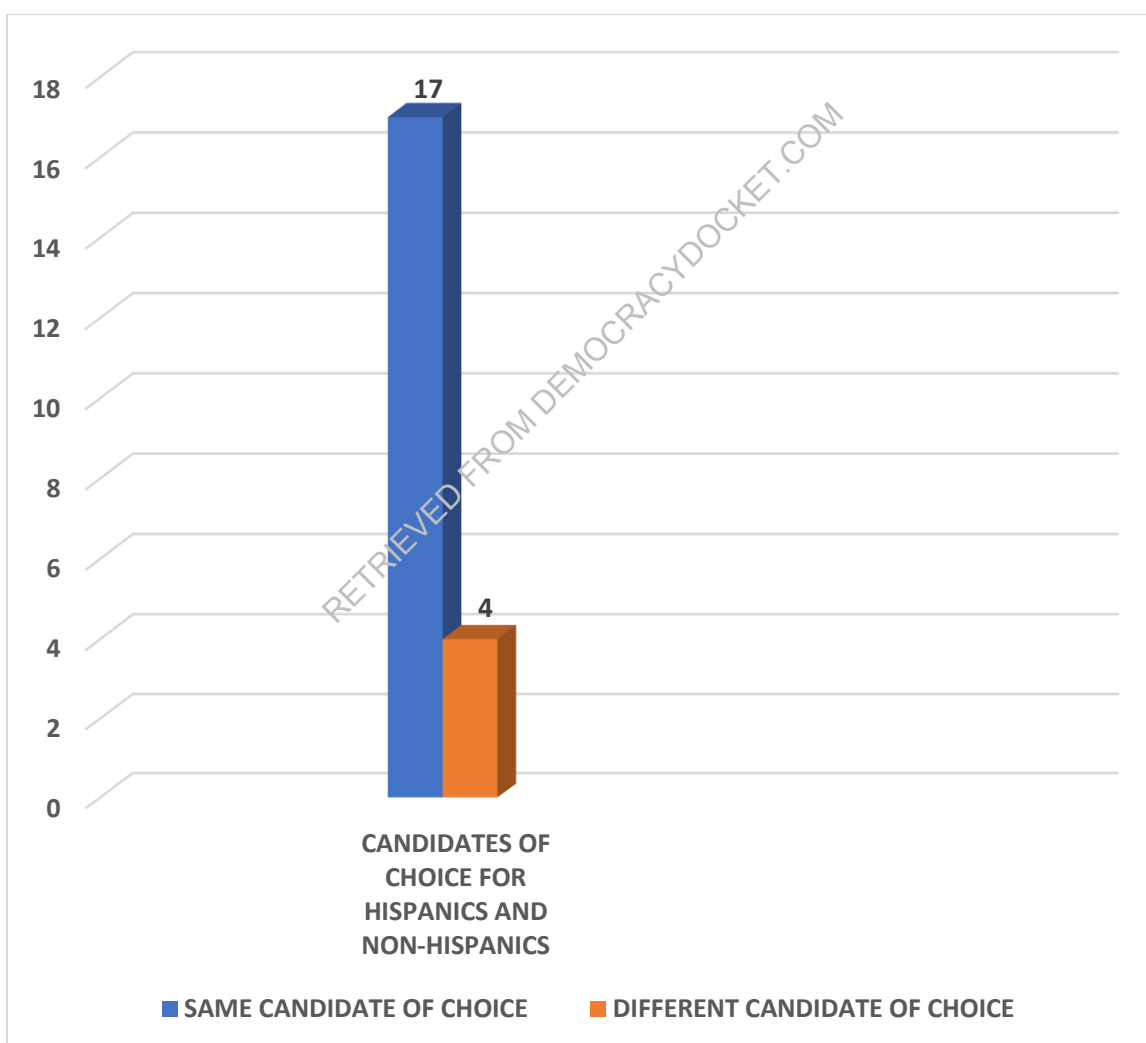


CHART 10
WINS AND LOSSES FOR HISPANIC CANDIDATES OF CHOICE IN ELECTIONS
ANALYZED BY EITHER DR. GRUMBACH OR DR. CHEN, FROM TABLE 11



CVAP. In the 2020 Democratic primary in HD 2, Mah again competed against a Hispanic and white candidate. According to the results in Grumbach Table A1, she was the candidate of choice of Hispanic voters by a wide margin of 35 percentage points over the Hispanic candidate.

The data in Table 10 and Chart 10 also examines the extent to which Hispanics and non-Hispanics or whites together opted for the same candidate of choice in these 23 probative state legislative elections. As shown in Table 11 and Chart 8, Hispanic voters and non-Hispanic or white voters opted for the same candidate in 19 of 23 elections, for a coalition rate of 83%.

Table 11 provides a final refinement of the probative endogenous state legislative elections analysis by eliminating from the analysis of all districts with a Hispanic CVAP percentage above 50%. Using actual election results in state legislative contests, this analysis tests the proposition that lies at the heart of the case for both plaintiffs with Hispanic voting claims: that a 50%+ Hispanic CVAP single-race majority is necessary to provide Hispanics an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice to state legislative positions. The district with the highest Hispanic CVAP percentage is House District 39 at 48.6%, and the district with the lowest Hispanic CVAP percentage is Senate District 22 at 27.9%.

The actual election results reported in Table 11 and Chart 11 provide compelling evidence that a 50%+ Hispanic CVAP district is not necessary to provide Hispanics an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. White bloc voting does not usually defeat Hispanic preferred candidates of choice in districts ranging from 27.9% to 48.6% Hispanic CVAP, but in fact almost never does so. Hispanic candidates of choice win 14 of 16 elections in these districts for a win rate of 88%.

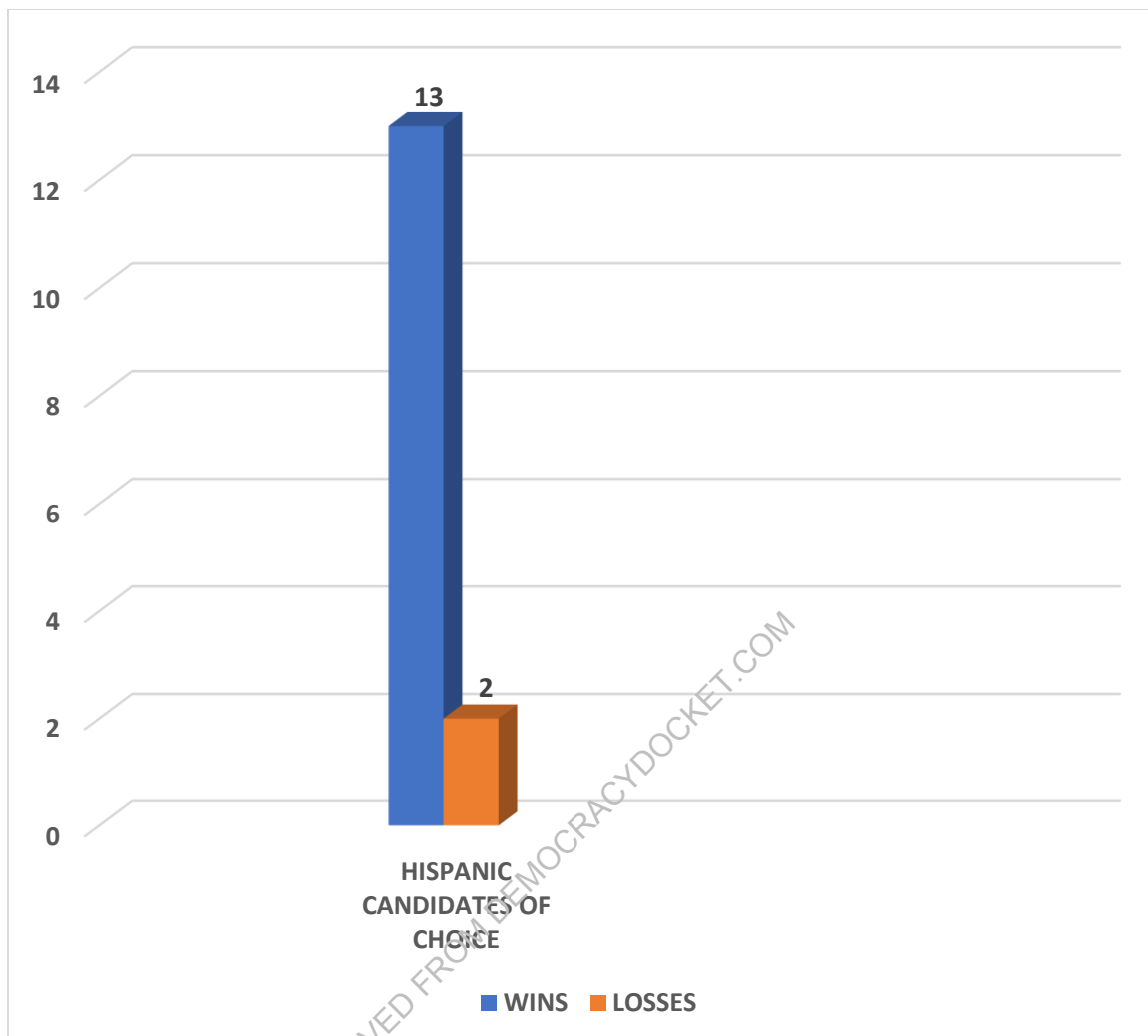
Dr. Grumbach attempts to explain away the near universal victory rate of Hispanic candidates (he does not deal with non-Hispanic candidates of choice of Hispanic voters) by

TABLE 11
CORRECTED ANALYSIS OF ENDOGENOUS ELECTIONS WITH HISPANIC v. NON-
HISPANIC CANDIDATES ANALYZED BY DR. GRUMBACH OR DR. CHEN, STATE
LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS FROM 27.9 TO 48.6% HISPANIC CVAP

COUNT	ELECTIONS EXAMINED BY GRUMBACH OR CHEN	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF HISPANIC VOTERS	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF WHITE OR NON-HISPANIC VOTERS?	HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE WINS?
ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY GRUMBACH OR CHEN				
1	HD 39 2012 DEM PRIM	T. BERRIOS	NO	YES
2	HD 40 2012 GENERAL	MELL	YES	YES
3	HD 4 2016 DEM PRIM	SOTO	YES	YES
4	HD 40 2014 DEM PRIM	ANDRADE	YES	YES
5	HD 39 2014 DEM PRIM	T. BERRIOS	NO	NO
6	HD 40 2016 DEM PRIM	ANDRADE	YES	YES
7	HD 40 2020 DEM PRIM	ANDRADE	YES	YES
8	HD 77 2014 DEM PRIM	WILLIS	YES	YES
9	SD 22 2016 GENERAL	CASTRO	YES	YES
10	HD 2 2016 PRIMARY	ACEVEDO	YES	NO
11	SD 22 2016 PRIMARY	CASTRO	YES	YES
12	HD 4 2018 DEM PRIM	RAMIREZ	NO	YES
13	SD 20 2018 DEM PRIM	MARTINEZ	YES	YES
14	HD 2 2020 DEM PRIM	MAH	YES	YES
15	HD 40 2020 DEM PRIM	ANDRADE	YES	YES
SUM: 13 WINS, 2 LOSSES FOR HISPANIC PREFERRED CANDIDATES WIN RATE = 87%				
SUM: 12 OF 15 ELECTIONS WITH SAME PREFERRED CANDIDATE FOR HISPANICS AND NON-HISPANICS, OR WHITES COALITION RATE = 80%				

CHART 11

WINS AND LOSSES FOR HISPANIC CANDIDATES OF CHOICE IN ELECTIONS IN DISTRICTS FROM 27.9 TO 48.6% HISPANIC CVAP, FROM TABLE 12



noting that many were incumbents.⁴⁷ This attempt to discount incumbents even taken at face value cannot prove Prong 3 that white bloc voting almost usually defeats Hispanic candidates of choice. As indicated in Table 11, for elections analyzed by either Grumbach or Chen in 25%+ Hispanic CVAP districts across all post-2010 election cycles, one of only two losses by Hispanic candidates of choice involved a losing incumbent, Maria Antonia “Toni” Berrios in the 2014 primary in House District 39. So, if we were to discount elections with incumbents, that would leave Alex Acevedo as the sole losing Hispanic preferred candidate. Acevedo did not lose to Asian candidate Mah in the 2016 primary in House District 2 because of white bloc voting, but because of an overwhelming vote for Mah by non-Hispanic minorities in this district, with a greater than 20% Asian CVAP.

Neither Grumbach nor any other plaintiffs’ experts present proof about the magnitude of any incumbency advantage in Illinois. But incumbency cannot account for the wide margin of victory achieved by most Hispanic preferred candidates. Moreover, incumbency is no lock for victory in Illinois. For example, In addition, to Toni Berrios’ defeat, Asian candidate Denyse Wang Stoneback defeated incumbent Yehiel Kalish in the 2018 Democratic primary in House District 16. Hispanic candidate Aaron Ortiz defeated incumbent Daniel J. Burke in the 2018 Democratic primary in House District 1, Fred Kaegi defeated incumbent Joseph Berrios in the 2018 primary for Cook County Assessor. Asian candidate Tammy Duckworth defeated incumbent Mark Kirk in the 2016 general election for U.S. Senate. Bruce Rauner defeated incumbent Pat Quinn in the 2014 general election for governor. Then, J.B. Pritzker defeated Rauner in the 2018 general election.

⁴⁷ Dr. Fowler also attempts to discount appointed incumbencies for different reasons related to minority representation. I will examine his claims in the context of Senate Factor 4 in that section of my report.

None of these losses by incumbents was especially close, with most of the incumbents losing by more than 10 percentage points. Toni Berrios lost by 20.8 percentage points, Kalish by 20.9 points, Burke by 6.2 percentage points, Joseph Berrios by 11.7 points, Kirk by 15.1 points, Quinn by 4 percentage points, and Rauner by 15.7 points. Moreover, despite plaintiffs' effort to discount elections with incumbents, Dr. Chen chooses an incumbent election, the 2018 primary for Cook County Assessor as his sole basis for assessing Hispanic voter prospects in challenged SB 927 districts.

Similarly, the actual election results reported in Table 11 and Chart 12 provide compelling evidence of coalitions between Hispanics and whites or non-Hispanics. As shown in Table 11 and Chart 12, Hispanics and non-Hispanics or whites have the same candidate of choice in 13 of 16 elections, for a coalition rate of 81%. The formation of interracial coalitions is a positive development for Hispanics in Illinois. It expands the range of their political empowerment beyond what can be achieved through heavily concentrated Hispanic districts. As I noted in my testimony at the May 25th joint hearing of the Redistricting Committee, through gaining support from non-Hispanic voters, some Hispanic members of the state legislature have won elections in some districts with Hispanic percentages below even the influence district range. As demonstrated in Table 12, three Hispanics have won state legislative seats in districts with Hispanic CVAP from 10.7% to 20.2%.

CHART 12
WINS AND LOSSES FOR HISPANIC CANDIDATES OF CHOICE IN ELECTIONS
ANALYZED BY EITHER DR. GRUMBACH OR DR. CHEN, FROM TABLE 11

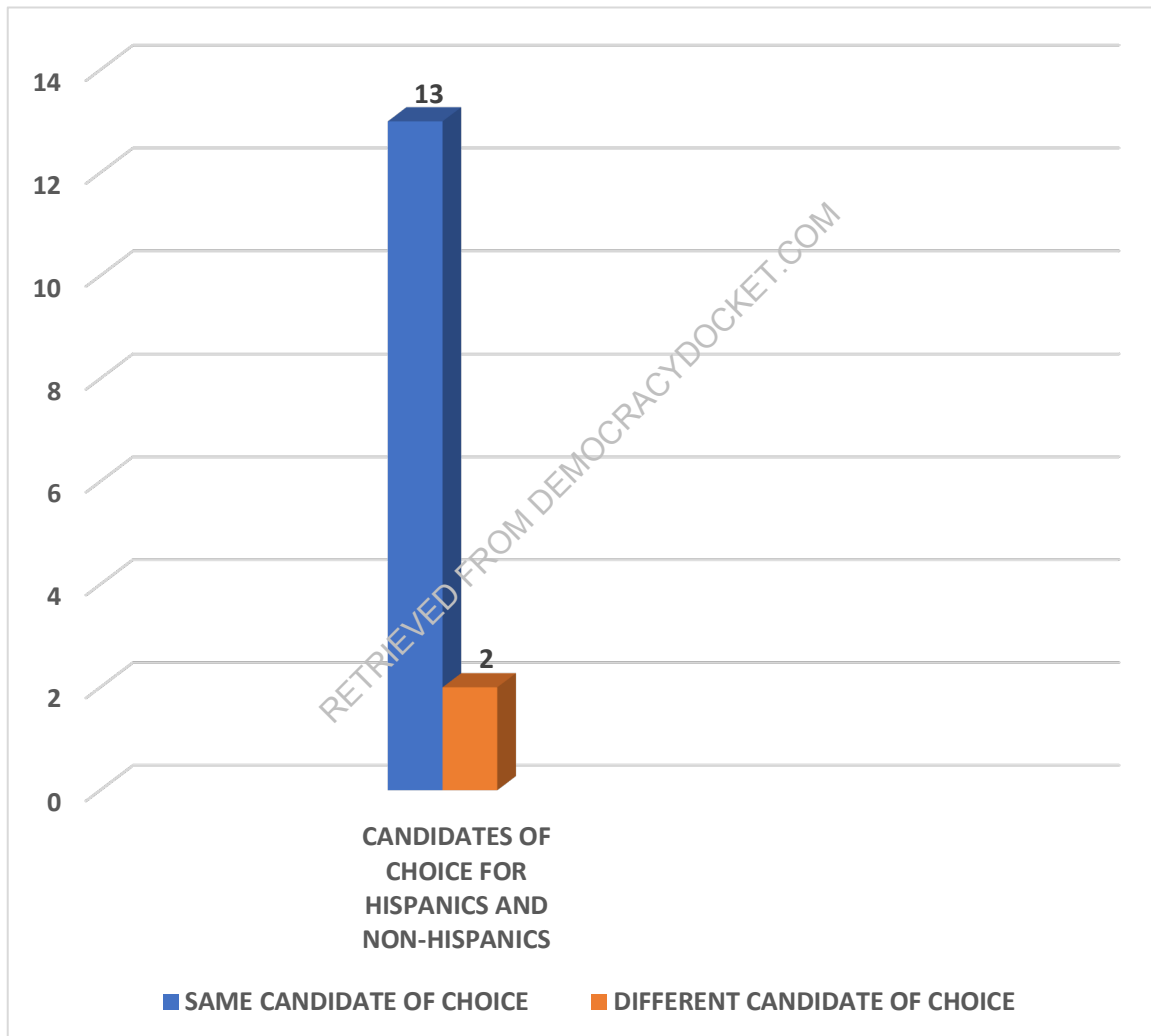


TABLE 12
HISPANIC STATE LEGISLATIVE INCUMBENTS IN LOW HISPANIC CVAP
DISTRICTS

DISTRICT	HISPANIC CVAP %	INCUMBENT	RACE
SD 25	10.7%	KARINA VILLA	HISPANIC
HD 85	15.9%	DAGMAR AVELAR	HISPANIC
HD 44	20.2%	FRED CRESPO	HISPANIC

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IV. Dr. Chen's Assessment of Hispanic Voter Opportunities

Dr. Chen briefly attempts to draw conclusions about Hispanic voting opportunities in state legislative districts by examining actual election results. However, Dr. Chen does not base his analysis on the twenty-three endogenous statewide elections analyzed in his declaration. Instead, he unnecessarily relies only on five selected elections, too small a sample from which to draw reliable conclusions, especially as compared to the 23 elections analyzed above in my combined database. Dr. Chen does not rely on any scientific rationale for drastically reducing the elections available for analysis or the selection criteria used. Rather, he uncritically follows instructions from plaintiffs' counsel. Dr. Chen writes, "For each set of election results in Cook County listed in Table 5, *plaintiffs' counsel* asked me to identify those elections satisfying all four of the following criteria:" (p. 33, emphasis added).

The criteria provided to Chen by plaintiffs' counsel are as follows:

- 1) The election was a primary election or a non-partisan municipal election;
- 2) For endogenous (State House or Senate) elections, the district is substantially within the region covered by the Plaintiffs' Remedial Plan;
- 3) Over 50% of Latino voters favored a single candidate; and
- 4) Over 50% of White voters favored a candidate other than the Latino-preferred candidate.

These are arbitrary, biased criteria designed to sharply reduce the elections to be analyzed and give a predetermined answer. The requirements do not distinguish between probative endogenous state legislative elections and exogenous elections held in jurisdictions with low and unrepresentative Hispanic concentration. They do not set any threshold for the Hispanic concentration in state legislative districts. Criteria 3 and 4 eliminate all elections in which a majority or plurality of Hispanics and white or non-Hispanic voters preferred the same candidate. As indicated in Table 10, nineteen state legislative elections exhibit such coalitions between

Hispanics and whites or non-Hispanics, but plaintiffs' counsels' criteria automatically eliminates these nineteen elections.

Such biased criteria predictably yield limited and unrepresentative results, demonstrating what is known as confirmation bias in social science. As explained by Raymond S. Nickerson in his article in the *Review of General Psychology*, confirmation bias occurs when “one selectively gathers, or gives undue weight to, evidence that supports one's position while neglecting to gather, or discounting, evidence that would tell against it.” He further elaborates that, “People may treat evidence in a biased way when they are motivated by the desire to defend beliefs that they wish to maintain.”⁴⁸

The five elections selected according to counsel's criteria are as follows:

The April 2015 Chicago Mayoral election,
the 2018 Cook County Assessor Primary,
the 2012 HD-39 Primary,
the 2014 HD-39 Primary,
the 2018 HD-1 Primary.

Rather than probative endogenous state legislative elections, two of the five elections are exogenous elections. This result is not surprising from the biased criteria, given that there are so few state legislative elections in which Hispanic preferred candidates lost elections. In a further demonstration of confirmation bias, plaintiffs' counsel chose the criteria and then dictated to Dr. Chen how he should analyze the sample of five elections. Dr. Chen writes, “Among the set of elections satisfying all four of these criteria, plaintiffs' counsel asked me to count the number of elections in which the Latino-preferred candidate was defeated.” This methodology produces misleading results, because as explained above wins or losses of Hispanic candidates of choice in

⁴⁸ Raymond S. Nickerson, “Confirmation Bias: A Ubiquitous Phenomenon in Many Guises,” *Review of General Psychology*, 2 (1998), 175-176.

Cook County or Chicago with low Hispanic percentages and a fundamentally different distribution of racial group CVAP have no bearing on Hispanic electoral opportunities in challenged districts. In the three probative state legislative districts in his five-election sample, Hispanic candidates of choice, who were also Hispanic, won two of the elections: the 2012 HD 39 primary and the 2018 HD 1 primary.

The only state legislative election in which a Hispanic candidate of choice lost in the sample was the 2012 HD-39 primary. Dr. Chen fails to provide context for the loss by Hispanic candidate Berrios. The unique circumstance of this loss is explained above. Although the results are not relevant to assessing Hispanic voter opportunity in challenged state legislative districts, Dr. Chen also fails to provide context for the 2015 Chicago mayor runoff. Winning candidate Emanuel was not only backed by white voters, but by 59.5% of non-Hispanic minorities in Chicago according to Dr. Chen's Table 6, p. 40. So that although the candidate of choice of Hispanics lost in Chicago, the candidate of choice of other minorities won in Chicago. He also fails to provide context for the 2018 Cook County Assessor election, analyzed in depth below.

Plaintiffs' counsel relies on its restricted and biased criteria. Broader and more even-handed criteria would have resulted in a substantial win rate for Hispanic candidates and Hispanic candidates. For state legislative districts with at least a 25% Hispanic CVAP, there was only one endogenous election other than the 2014 HD 39 primary, analyzed by Dr. Chen or Dr. Grumbach, in which a Hispanic candidate or a Hispanic preferred candidate lost. This result compares to more than twenty elections in which such candidates prevailed. Moreover, in the only other exogenous election that Dr. Chen analyzed, the 2016 Special General election for Illinois Comptroller General, the Hispanic candidate prevailed.

Yet other problems follow from Dr. Chen's application of counsel's criteria. The criteria do not fit the data in Dr. Chen's Tables 6 and 7. These tables only report the vote for the candidate that Dr. Chen identifies as the candidate of choice of Hispanic voters and no other candidate. Yet the criteria call for assessing whether another candidate won a majority of the white vote. That is not possible, however, for seven multi-candidate primaries that are included in Chen's Table 6 for endogenous elections and Table 7 for exogenous elections. These multicandidate primaries encompass the 2018 Democratic primary for County Assessor, which made the cut to the five elections. Dr. Chen later used this election as his sole basis for assessing Hispanic voter opportunities in SB 927 districts and plaintiffs' alternative districts. Only or two-person candidate primary or non-partisan elections, it is possible to reverse engineer Dr. Chen's results and assess whether the opposing candidate won "over 50% of the white vote

I have never before encountered the situation described above in my work on some one-hundred redistricting and voting rights cases across the nation. That is, a counsel compromising the scientific integrity of an expert by dictating criteria for excluding probative elections and then dictating the procedure for analyzing the elections. Such instructions on methodology are distinct from the usual requests from attorneys to examine particular topics, for example, the three Gingles Prongs. Such requests do not preempt the independent methodological decisions of the expert.

V. Black Voters in the East St. Louis Region (HD 114), Chen and Collingwood Reports

Both Dr. Chen and Dr. Collingwood present evidence on the assessment of Gingles Prong 3 for the East St. Louis, St. Clair County Black opportunity district HD 114. The findings of both experts demonstrate that white bloc voting has not usually defeated candidates of choice

of Black voters in elections they deemed probative for analysis. Instead, white bloc voting has again almost never defeated Black preferred candidates. The Chen declaration briefly addresses Black voter opportunities. For the three elections that Dr. Chen analyzes, his results show that there was white crossover voting sufficient to elect the Black candidate of choice, which was the Black candidate. These Black candidates, Dr. Chen found, all won by comfortable margins (p. 43):

- * The 2014 General Election in HD 114, Black Candidate Greenwood, 57.2%
- * The 2018 General Election in SD 57, Black Candidate Belt, 59.2%
- * The 2020 General Election in HD 114, Black Candidate Greenwood, 57.1%

Dr. Collingwood examines a broader array of elections. Her results show that with a single exception white crossover voting was sufficient to elect the black candidate of choice, given extreme cohesion that she confirms for Black voters. I reproduced Dr. Collingwood's results for six elections for state legislative and St. Clair County positions probative in Compilation 2 below. I have compiled Dr. Collingwood's findings as presented in Table 1, p. 6, and added the black CVAP for the districts and jurisdictions that she analyzed.

The results reported by Dr. Collingwood in the compilation below show that in 5 of 7 elections that she deemed probative, the Black candidate prevailed. However, her Table contains a consequential error. According to official election results reported by the St. Clair County Clerk, Black candidate Kinnis Williams not white incumbent Jim Wilson, prevailed in the 2020 general election for County Board of Review. The official results list 62,938 votes for Williams and 60,341 votes for Wilson. Williams also appears on the county website as the Board of

COMPILATION 2
FROM TABLE 1, P. 6 OF COLLINGWOOD DECLARATION, ELECTION RESULTS
FOR BLACK V. WHITE ELECTIONS DEEMED PROBATIVE

Table 1: Contests analyzed, candidate race, winner status, and racially polarized voting summary.

YEAR	SEAT	BLACK CAND.	WHITE CAND.	WINNER	RPV	% BLACK CVAP
2014g	StC Board of Review	Moore	Wilson	Wilson	Yes	29.3%
2016g	StC Circuit Clerk	Clay	Cook	Clay	Yes	29.3%
2020g	StC Board of Review	Williams	Wilson	Wilson	Yes	29.3%
2020g	Illinois 114 House	Greenwood	Barnes	Greenwood	Yes	42.6%
2016g	Illinois 114 House	Greenwood	Romanik	Greenwood	Yes	42.6%
2018g	Illinois 57 Senate	Belt	Hildenbrand	Belt	Yes	34.2%
2014g	Illinois 57 Senate	Clayborne	Ruocco	Clayborne	Yes	34.2%

Review elected official.⁴⁹ With this correction, white crossover voting was sufficient to elect the Black candidate in competition with a white candidate in 6 of 7 probative elections, for a win rate of 86%. Five of the seven elections occurred in districts or jurisdictions with a Black CVAP below that of HD 114 under SB 927 (38.0%).

In the final paragraph of her declaration, Dr. Collingwood criticizes me for testifying to the State Legislature that white bloc voting in Illinois does not usually defeat minority candidates of choice in districts with reasonable minority concentrations. Yet, the foregoing demonstrates that this testimony was correct even for the East St. Louis region and HD 114. The win rate for Black candidates is 86% in the seven elections that Dr. Collingwood chose as probative and 100% for the three elections she chose for assessing HD 114 under SB 927.

VI. Theoretical Voter Opportunities, The Fowler Report: McConchie Plaintiffs

The Fowler report deals briefly with Black and Hispanic voter opportunities in state legislative elections, although it focuses primarily on racially polarized voting and the responsiveness of officials chosen by minority candidates to “minority needs.” I will examine these issues in the section of my report dealing with the Senate Factors.

Dr. Fowler does not provide any district-specific analysis, report any calculations for minority and white voting patterns, or provide the results of any elections. Rather, he reports findings for a generic, statewide theoretical model that attempts to relate the minority concentration in districts to the probability of a minority candidate winning the general election. Beyond the lack of district-specificity, Dr. Fowler’s analysis is not probative for assessing

⁴⁹ General Election, Tuesday November 3, 2020, Official Canvass, St. Clair County Illinois, https://www.co.st-clair.il.us/WebDocuments/Departments/CountyClerk/previousResults/St._Clair_General_Election_11-03-2020_Canvass.pdf; St. Clair County, Illinois, Elected Officials, <https://www.co.st-clair.il.us/elected-officials>.

Gingles Prong 3. Like Dr. Grumbach, he focuses exclusively on minority candidates, not the preferred candidates of minority voters, as specified in Prong 3.

Figure 1 on page 17 of Dr. Fowler's declaration plots the Black, Hispanic, and Asian CVAP percentages in a legislative district against his calculated probability of a candidate of the corresponding race winning a general election. The graph depicts only the probability of victory for a candidate of the same race, not the candidate of choice of the minority group at issue. As demonstrated below, candidates of choice in state legislative elections are almost invariably Black candidates for Black voters. That correspondence does not apply to Hispanic voters. As shown above, Hispanic voters often opt for preferred candidates who are not Hispanic.

Dr. Fowler derives his graph, which generically applies statewide, from a statistical model that he describes as follows: "*The curves are kernel-weighted local polynomial regressions (Epanechnikov kernel, bandwidth = .1) showing how the probability that the general election winner is from a minority group relates to the share of the district's CVAP comprised of that group.*" (emphasis in original). Dr. Fowler does not cite any authority for this model or demonstrate where it has worked in the past to predict the results of future elections accurately.

Although the gradations on the graph are too wide to easily compare the percentages in the two axes, Dr. Fowler, states that for "black legislative districts in Illinois, a district that is 40 percent Black is predicted to have a 78 percent chance of electing a Black legislator." (p. 9, emphasis added). Dr. Fowler cites an example to emphasize the more than equal opportunity a 40% Black CVAP districts provides for Black voters to elect a Black candidate: "Therefore, if a region is 20 percent Black and has the population for two districts, a map that places all Black citizens in one district will produce a Black legislator 78 percent of the time," (p.9)⁵⁰ Thus, the

⁵⁰ Almost invariably for black voters in Illinois state legislative elections, their candidate of choice is also black.

finding of the Contreras plaintiffs' electoral expert refutes the central claim of all three plaintiffs, that only a single-race 50%+ CVAP state legislative district provides minority voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice.

The curve for Black districts flattens after the 40% Black CVAP mark, so that the probability of electing a Black legislator in a 40% to 50% Black CVAP district should be somewhere between 78% and 85%. Yet, the actual elections results show that Black candidates do far better than Dr. Fowler's statistical model would predict. As depicted in Table 13, the results show that in the most recent and relevant set of 2020 state legislative elections, Black candidates won 100% of districts with black CVAP percentages ranging from 42.55% to 47.95%. Further, Black candidates won 25 of 26 elections, 96.2%, of all elections in Table 13. The one exception, the election of white candidate Robert Rita did not occur in a below 50%+ black CVAP district. Rita won the election in House District 28, which has 52.83% black CVAP. This result is the opposite of what Dr. Fowler's model would predict. The disconnect between Dr. Fowler's model and the reality of election results in Black districts questions the value of his theoretical approach to assessing minority voter opportunities.

Although Asian voters are not at issue in this litigation, scrutiny of Dr. Fowler's projections for Asian districts is another test of his model. As a redistricting consultant in Illinois, if I based my advice on Dr. Fowler's model, I would have informed the General Assembly that it was futile to draw state legislative districts at the highest possible range for Asians, between 20% to 25% Asian CVAP. His graph indicates that Asian candidates would have little chance of winning in such districts. The Illinois General Assembly drew four such districts in its 2011 state legislative plan. As shown in Table 14, contrary to the expectations of

TABLE 13
ACTUAL RESULTS OF 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN DISTRICTS WITH 40%+
BLACK CVAP

COUNT	CHAMBER	DISTRICT	BLACK CVAP%	GENERAL ELECTION WINNER	RACE
1	SD	33	68.26%	Marcus C. Evans, Jr.	BLACK
2	HD	29	67.16%	Thaddeus Jones	BLACK
3	SD	17	64.51%	Elgie R. Sims, Jr.	BLACK
4	SD	15	61.81%	Napoleon Harris, III	BLACK
5	HD	34	60.81%	Nicholas K. Smith	BLACK
6	HD	27	59.23%	Justin Slaughter	BLACK
7	HD	38	56.45%	Debbie Meyers-Martin	BLACK
8	SD	14	56.04%	Emil Jones, III	BLACK
9	HD	30	56.02%	William Davis	BLACK
10	HD	32	54.88%	Cyril Nichols	BLACK
11	SD	16	54.72%	Jacqueline Y. Collins	BLACK
12	HD	31	54.58%	Mary E. Flowers	BLACK
13	HD	8	54.23%	La Shawn K. Ford	BLACK
14	HD	25	53.31%	Curtis J. Tarver, II	BLACK
15	SD	13	52.87%	Robert Peters	BLACK
16	HD	28	52.72%	Robert Rita	WHITE
17	HD	26	52.47%	Kambium Buckner	BLACK
18	SD	4	50.87%	Kimberly A. Lightford	BLACK
19	HD	9	47.95%	Lakesia Collins	BLACK
20	HD	5	47.86%	Lamont J. Robinson, Jr.	BLACK
21	HD	7	47.71%	Emanuel Chris Welch	BLACK
22	SD	5	47.68%	Patricia Van Pelt	BLACK
23	HD	10	47.40%	Jawaharial Williams	BLACK
24	SD	3	46.52%	Mattie Hunter	BLACK
25	HD	6	44.99%	Sonya M. Harper	BLACK
26	HD	114	42.55%	LaToya Greenwood	BLACK

Dr. Fowler's model, Asian candidates prevailed in 2020 in three of these districts, for a win rate of 75%.

For Latinos, Dr. Fowler states that "a district that is 40 percent Latino is predicted to have a Latino winner 45 percent of the time," which is close to an equal opportunity for a district far below plaintiff's talismanic 50%+ Hispanic CVAP. The curve then moves upward so that for Hispanic CVAP districts in the range of 40% to 50% the probability of electing a Hispanic candidate should be between about 45% and 60%, an equal opportunity.

However, the situation for Hispanics is distinct and points to the dangers of a one-size-fits-all generic model. More critically, unlike Black voters, Hispanic voters often choose preferred candidates who are not Hispanic. For example, white candidate Kathleen Willis won the 2014 Democratic primary in HD 77 (46.4% Hispanic CVAP) with majority support from both Hispanic voters as did Asian candidate Theresa Mah in the 2020 Democratic primary in HD 2 (42.7% CVAP). So did white candidate Steven Landek in the 2012 Democratic primary in SD 2 (54.5% Hispanic CVAP).⁵¹ These victories would count against the probabilities in Fowler's model but should not count against Prong 3. White bloc voting did not defeat any of these Hispanic preferred candidates. As noted earlier, only two candidates of choice of Hispanic voters have lost elections in any of 177 State House or State Senate districts with more than 25% Hispanic CVAP percentages throughout the five election cycles of the post-2010 redistricting.

⁵¹ The Hispanic vote for Mah and Landek is from Grumbach declaration, Table A1 and for Willis from Chen declaration, Table 6.

TABLE 14
ACTUAL RESULTS OF 2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN DISTRICTS WITH 20% TO
25% ASIAN CVAP

COUNT	CHAMBER	DISTRICT	BLACK CVAP%	GENERAL ELECTION WINNER	RACE
1	HD	16	25.5%	Denyse Stoneback	ASIAN
2	HD	2	23.8%	Theresa Mah	ASIAN
3	SD	8	23.6%	Ram Villivalam	ASIAN
4	HD	15	20.0%	John D'Amico	WHITE

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VII. Minority Political Empowerment

Hispanic candidates, analysis shows, have been extraordinarily successful in forging interracial coalitions that combine majority or plurality support from Hispanic voters with similar backing from white voters and voters of other races. Such interracial coalitions expand minority empowerment beyond the inherently limited creation of heavily segregated minority districts. The coalitions explode the false stereotype that minorities can only elect candidates of their choice through their own votes. As indicated in Table 15, for total population, plaintiffs' proposals create districts that segregate minorities at levels that range from 70.5% to 89.4%. The average is 77.3%.

Ironically, while experts for plaintiffs are decrying residential segregation in Illinois, plaintiffs' approach to minority political empowerment depends upon such segregation. This irony has not been lost on civil rights organizations and other advocates. In a 2015 report, "The Color of Representation: Local Government in Illinois," MALDEF in conjunction with the Chicago Lawyers' Committee, the Joyce Foundation, and Asian American Forward Justice summarized criticisms of minority empowerment through the creation of single-race majority districts. For Black citizens, the report notes, "that a preoccupation with creating majority Black districts entrenches the racial segregation of minority voters," limits their empowerment beyond a restricted number of districts, and fosters the idea that Black representative are tokens, isolated their enclave districts." The same logic would apply to the creation of the entrenched Hispanic districts sought by plaintiffs.⁵²

⁵² Chicago Lawyers' Committee, the Joyce Foundation, MALDEF, and Asian American Forward Justice, "The Color of Representation," April 2015, pp. 29-30, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5871061e6b8f5b2a8ede8ff5/t/593034a415cf7d726f5c6cb5/1496331463548/The_Color_of_Representation.pdf.

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TABLE 15
POPULATION DEMOGRAPHICS OF DISTRICTS IN PLAINTIFFS' ALTERNATIVE PLAN

COUNT	DISTRICT	% BLACK POP	% ASIAN POP	% HISPANIC POP	% OTHER POP	% ALL MINORITY POP
1	HD 3	6.8%	6.3%	63.8%	2.6%	79.5%
2	HD 4	2.5%	3.6%	62.5%	1.9%	70.5%
3	HD 21	5.8%	1.7%	62.9%	1.9%	72.3%
4	HD 22	3.5%	1.3%	64.6%	1.8%	71.2%
5	HD 23	7.8%	10.7%	69.6%	1.3%	89.4%
6	HD 24 (Prior 2)	4.2%	20.6%	61.0%	1.7%	87.5%
7	HD 32	9.7%	1.1%	68.0%	1.3%	80.1%
8	HD 39	9.4%	3.0%	58.6%	1.9%	73.9%
9	HD 77	3.2%	2.4%	63.3%	1.6%	70.5%
10	SD 2	7.1%	3.5%	60.5%	1.5%	72.6%
11	SD 11 (Prior 12)	3.9%	1.7%	70.1%	0.9%	76.6%
Sources: House Districts from Plan Matrix submitted by <i>McConchie</i> plaintiffs and Senate Districts from Plan Matrix submitted by <i>Contreras</i> plaintiffs.						

The report further cites the national organization FairVote,” which “has long argued that one of the main problems with majority-minority districts is that they “require the continuation of some degree of housing segregation that concentrates minority populations within easily drawn boundaries.” In addition, FairVote notes the inherent limitation of minority concentration means that, “many racial minority voters will be unable to elect preferred candidates when not living in majority-minority districts.”⁵³

Professor Justin Levitt notes the detrimental effects of packing minorities into districts according to a fixed population majority reinforces stereotypes about minorities and subverts the purpose of the Voting Rights Act, which is minority empowerment:

It “turns the Act from a refined and sophisticated piece of federal legislation into a cartoon ... By assuming that functional political cleavages can be measured purely by percentage of citizen voting-age population, the troublesome approach imposes racial stereotypes on a statute designed to combat them.”⁵⁴

Leah Alden, Deputy Director of Litigation for LDF, said this year that “The bright line of 50-percent-plus-one [minority share in a district] might be outdated, given the nuances of political realities across the country.” Bobby Scott, the pioneering Black leader who became Virginia’s first Black member of Congress since the 19th century said, “To suggest there is some numerical barrier that you have to achieve is absurd. If the votes are changing, the standard ought to change.”⁵⁵ After a successful lawsuit, Scott’s 50%+ single-race majority Black district was reduced to create two districts with Black percentage below 50%: Congressional District 3,

⁵³ Id.

⁵⁴ Justin Levitt, “Quick and Dirty: The New Misreading of the Voting Rights Act,” *Fla. St. U. L. Rev.* (2017), at 575-576.

⁵⁵ David Wasserman, “Is it Time to Rethink Hyper-Minority Districts?” *The Atlantic*, 20 September 2021, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2021/09/it-time-rethink-hyper-minority-districts/620118/>.

which is 46% single-race Black in its voting age population and Congressional District 4, which is 39% single-race Black, according to the 2020 Census. Scott won reelection in CD 3 in 2016 and CD 4 elected a second Black representative, Donald McEachin, who won 75% of the Democratic primary vote and 58% of the general election vote. Both incumbents comfortably won reelection in 2018 and 2020.⁵⁶

On behalf of both defendants and plaintiffs I have testified several times, including in Illinois, against imposing any fixed population standard for assessing minority opportunity districts. I testified that, in practice, mechanical reliance on creating single-race majority districts diminishes minority voter opportunities by limiting their empowerment to a restricted number of concentrated. I testified that the application of a more flexible standard responsive to local conditions would expand opportunities for minorities to elect candidates of their choice and influence the political process.⁵⁷

VIII. Conclusions

The bottom line is simple. The district-specific analyses of voting patterns presented by plaintiffs' experts themselves – with some obvious corrections - proves that white bloc voting does not usually defeat minority candidates of choice in state legislative districts with Hispanic or Black CVAP percentages at or above the lowest range of a MALDEF defined “influence district.” To the contrary, the analyses prove that white bloc voting almost never defeats

⁵⁶ Virginia Department of Elections, “Election Results,” <https://www.elections.virginia.gov/resultsreports/election-results/>.

⁵⁷ See, for example, *Page v. Bartels*, 144 F. Supp. 2d 346 (D.N.J. 2001); *Covington v. North Carolina*, 316 F. R. D. 117 (M.D.N.C. 2016), U.S. Supreme Court affirmed, *North Carolina v. Covington*, 583 US ____ 2018; *Brown v. Detzner*, Case No. 4:2015cv00398, U.S. District Court, Northern District of Florida (2016); *Campuzano v. Illinois State Board of Elections*, 200 F. Supp. 2d 905 (N.D. Ill. 2002). See also, E. Jaynie Leung, “Page v. Bartels: A Total Effects Approach to Evaluating Racial Dilution Claims,” *Minnesota Journal of Law & Inequality*, 2003, 21(1) and Sam Hirsch, Unpacking Page v. Bartels: A Fresh Redistricting Paradigm Emerges in New Jersey, *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, 2004 1(1).

Hispanic or Black candidates of choice in such districts. The win rate for Hispanic candidates of choice in Hispanic v. non-Hispanic contests such districts is 91% and 88% even when districts of 50%+ Hispanic CVAP are excised. For all five election cycles since the 2011 redistricting, and in all districts above 25% Hispanic CVAP, white bloc voting has defeated only two Hispanic preferred candidates. Bot defeats occurred in atypical elections.

For Black voter opportunities, which in this litigation is confined to the region of a single district, the material presented by plaintiffs' experts demonstrates that white bloc voting almost never defeats the preferred candidates of Black voters. The win rate for Black candidates of choice is 86% in the seven elections that plaintiffs' experts deemed most probative. For elections reconstituted on the precincts of new HD 114, the win rate is 100%.

For the full corpus of Hispanic candidacies in state legislative elections with more than 25% Hispanic CVAP concentration, Hispanic candidates of choice have been extraordinarily successful in forging interracial coalitions. Such coalitions must represent the future of empowerment for Hispanics. They expand voter opportunities for minorities beyond what can be achieved by segregating minorities into heavily concentrated districts that perpetuate the restrictive stereotype that minorities can elect candidates of their choice only with minority votes.

One of the great ironies of the submissions by plaintiffs is that their experts decry residential segregation in Illinois. Yet, their approach to minority political empowerment depends on such residential segregation.

SECTION 3: SENATE FACTORS ON THE TOTALITY OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN ILLINOIS

I. Summary of Opinions

- 1) As an indicator generally of the extent to which registration and voting is accessible in Illinois, the Contreras expert Dr. Jacob Grumbach found that according to the Democracy Index that Illinois is at the forefront of the nation in providing access to registration and voting and that restrictions across the nation are attributable to Republican control of government.
- 2) Eight of the Nine Factors do not weigh at all against the totality of circumstances in Illinois.
- 3) To the contrary, these Factors weigh in favor of the state, reflecting Dr. Grumbach summary.
- 4) The state is a national leader in opening access to voting and registration and electing minority public officials.
- 5) Rather than marked racial polarization in voting, there has been an exceptional level of coalition building that has expanded minority representation and political influence.
- 6) There are no unusual rules or laws like anti-single shot prohibitions that impede minority access to the ballot, but to the contrary the state has been a pioneer in opening access.
- 7) Slating is broadly open to minorities and helps account for minority electoral

success in Cook County and Chicago.

- 8) Republicans have engaged in racial appeals in political campaigns in Illinois, but not the Democrats who enacted SB 927.
- 9) Minorities have been elected to public office in Illinois far ahead of national norms. This advancement applies statewide, in Chicago and Cook County, and in state legislative elections.
- 10) The state of Illinois has been highly responsive to particularized minority needs in areas such as voting rights, medical care, education, and immigration, despite frequent Republican opposition.
- 11) Any divide over policies to meet the particularized needs of minorities is between Democrats and Republicans, not among Democrats.
- 12) The obligation to create a redistricting plan for the state legislature is not tenuous.
- 13) Like other states, Illinois does exhibit a socio-economic divide between whites and minorities and lower minority turnout in general elections. But plaintiffs' experts have not tied this finding to policies of the state rather than federal policy and private action and have not properly interpreted the findings.
- 14) On balance the factors not only fail to weigh against the totality of circumstances in Illinois, but strongly support a favorable set of circumstances for minority voters.

II. Overview

This section of my declaration examines factors established by the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee in 1982 to guide courts in assessing the totality of circumstances

relevant to a Section 2 claim that a challenged law impedes minority voting opportunities. The Senate Factors are “neither exclusive nor comprehensive,” and “a plaintiff need not prove any particular number or a majority of these factors in order to succeed in a vote dilution claim.”¹ The Senate Factors are:

- **Factor 1:** The extent of any history of official discrimination in the state or political subdivision that touched the right of members of the minority group to register, vote, or otherwise to participate in the democratic process;
- **Factor 2:** The extent to which voting in the elections of the state or political subdivision is racially polarized;
- **Factor 3:** The extent to which the state or political subdivision has used unusually large election districts, majority vote requirements, anti-single shot provisions, or other voting practices or procedures that may enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group;
- **Factor 4:** If there is a candidate slating process, whether the members of the minority group have been denied access to that process;
- **Factor 5:** The extent to which members of the minority group in the state or political subdivision bear the effects of discrimination in such areas as education, employment and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process;
- **Factor 6:** Whether political campaigns have been characterized by overt or subtle racial appeals; and
- **Factor 7:** The extent to which members of the minority group have been elected to public office in the jurisdiction.

The Judiciary Committee also noted that the court could consider additional factors such as:

- **Factor 8:** Whether there is a significant lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of the members of the minority group; and
- **Factor 9:** Whether the policy underlying the state or political subdivision's use of such voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure is tenuous.²

Before examining the analysis of each factor by plaintiffs’ experts, I would note that among more than a dozen reports and declarations that submitted by three sets of plaintiffs there

is no report that systematically examines each factor. Rather, information and analyses relevant to individual factors are scattered throughout many different reports. The result is that plaintiffs have not presented proof of how the factors, taken together, impact the totality of circumstances regarding minority voting opportunities in Illinois. I will endeavor to provide that missing synthesis in this section of my report, pulling together where relevant elements of individual reports and declarations from plaintiffs and adding information and analyses. I have considerable past experience in analyzing the Senate factors.

The submission of the McConchie plaintiffs recognizes the lack of a comprehensive analysis of the Senate Factors by expert analysis. It argues for limiting the focus primarily to just two factors. The submission notes that “Accordingly, the two most predominant Senate Factors, factors 2 and 7, weigh in Plaintiffs’ favor.” It cites *Bone Shirt v. Hazeltine*, 461 F.3d 1011, 1022 (8th Cir. 2006) for the proposition that “(totality-of-the-circumstances test satisfied simply through proof of racially polarized voting and absence of elected minorities).” (p. 17)

However, the submission cites no proof from any expert report regarding either of these two factors. Instead, it notes that “In any event, at least two additional factors weigh in Plaintiffs’ favor and compel a finding that the September Map violates Section 2 of the VRA.” It cites information from the report of Dr. Charles Gallagher on these two additional Factors, Factor 1 and Factor 5, but nothing on Factors 2 and 7. The submission is silent on the five other factors, Factor 3, Factor 4, Factor 6, Factor 8 and Factor 9.

In its submission the NAACP plaintiffs mention only five of the nine Senate Factors, omitting Factors 3, 4, 6, and 9. Only the submission of the Contreras plaintiffs mentions all nine of the Senate Factors.

Before examining the individual Senate factors, I will first consider the impact of the scholarly work of the Contreras plaintiffs' expert Dr. Jacob Grumbach. Dr. Grumbach's declaration for this litigation is limited to Factor 2 on polarized voting. However, in his scholarship, Dr. Grumbach does provide the kind of comprehensive, synthetic view of the totality of circumstances regarding voting opportunities in Illinois that is missing in the submitted reports and declaration.

Dr. Grumbach Finds That Illinois is a National Leader on Promoting Democracy

In an April 2021 article, Dr. Grumbach notes that in our decentralized system of government, American states can be “laboratories of democracy,” but also “laboratories of authoritarianism.” To rate the states along this continuum, Dr. Grumbach developed a “State Democracy Index.” He based the index on 61 indicators that illuminate the totality of circumstances in a state regarding equal access to participation in the democratic process. Grumbach writes, “Using 61 indicators of electoral and liberal democratic quality, such as average polling place wait times, same-day and automatic voter registration policies, and felon disenfranchisement, we use Bayesian modeling to estimate a latent measure of democratic performance.” Grumbach says that “electoral democracy” as gauged by his index is important “especially for minority populations who have been historically subjugated.”⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Jacob Grumbach, “Laboratories of Democratic Backsliding,” 5 April 2021, https://uc48d81a82a9da2b95d03c63e2f0.dl.dropboxusercontent.com/cd/0/inline2/Baj0DmMas_qg3NfXqFkMhEuISLIUln9EC5s9nj0p5MsHwoVJkXjZ_h0g8oZTZhmhdp7tJQ159rVdgN_TFZdyxDV1SIOyE7nQpWIOymY7C4E16AlDX8W33ckL44R7syIWhC-T1kovyHmMLtJkK1qPY5gr-WV26LJoHF6H99adqHW7eukqiMbarcsA1FSK4-eNS_QTUP-npYVrHkHbQLPvvHH-htPGnye2BvZ2UYiwzjueYg7DPiFzRZ0MeomzJPFyi4hlYiC7KA3A39AFWcAiDyaKtIC0iYt3LQIG-2f9qhTt8yT06L0B6V1VBLUB19vUBxavLopqjzmlf-zetDZnltgVmerXllsok1_nuI3-EiUHnLwldXLj5G97Zl-VtZGxb0/file#.

He finds that “Analysis of the measure suggests that state governments have been leaders in democratic backsliding in the U.S. in recent years.” Illinois, however, has not been backsliding. To the contrary, initiatives since 2000 have vaulted Illinois to among the top ranked states on Grumbach’s democracy index. He notes that in comparing democratic access in the states from 2000 to 2018 that “Illinois and Vermont move from the middle of the pack in 2000 to among the top democratic performers in 2018.” He finds that for 2018, Illinois ranked third highest among the states, trailing only Colorado and Washington, two states that use mail-on only elections.⁵⁹ (p. 46)

Grumbach finds that one variable dominates all others in determining the level of democracy in the states, Republican control of state government: “Difference-in-differences results suggest a minimal role for all factors except Republican control of state government, which dramatically reduces states' democratic performance during this period [2000 to 2018].” Differences between Republicans and Democrats in providing democratic access, Grumbach found is closely tied to race. He notes that “their preferences with respect to race and partisan identity provide the Republican electoral base with reason to oppose democracy in a diversifying country.” Thus, “The politics of race are therefore still central to this theory of party coalitions.”⁶⁰

Grumbach notes that Republican racial politics at the national level drives the near universality of Republican opposition to democratic access in the states. “In contrast to the localized racial and political economy conflict of the Jim Crow period,” he concludes, “today it is national rather than state or local level racial conflict that is the driver.” He indicates that the

⁵⁹ *Id.*, at 3, 12, 46.

⁶⁰ *Id.*, at 1, 16-17

“current coalitional structure of the national Republican Party shaped in large part by 20th century racial realignment (Schickler 2016) and large political investments by wealthy individuals and firms (Hacker and Pierson 2010; Hertel-Fernandez 2019), makes the party in government especially likely to reduce state democratic performance in any state in which it takes power.”⁶¹

Grumbach adds, “Despite Barack Obama's avoidance of racial discussion and consistent promotion of Black respectability politics (Gillion 2016; Stephens-Dougan 2016), his presidency, rather than signaling the emergence of a post-racial America," was met with a Republican Party that made gains by radicalizing on issues of race and immigration (Parker and Barreto 2014). In the contemporary period, elite racial appeals and frames are facilitated by a sophisticated conservative media ecosystem that consolidates the mass elements of the Republican Party.”⁶² I will return to this issue of a “media ecosystem” when examining Factor 6 on racial appeals.

- **Factor 1:** The extent of any history of official discrimination in the state or political subdivision that touched the right of members of the minority group to register, vote, or otherwise to participate in the democratic process.

Dr. Grumbach’s finding cut to the heart of Factor 1, which applies to the state, not local governments. Plaintiffs’ challenge only officials of the state government, not separate counties or municipalities in Illinois. There are 102 counties and 1,297 municipalities in Illinois. Dr. Grumbach’s scholarship demonstrates that since 2000 and through 2018, initiatives adopted by the Illinois state government have moved it from a middling state on

⁶¹ *Id.*, at 17.

⁶² *Id.*, at 53.

democracy to a leader in providing access to the democratic process. Among others, the following policies adopted by Illinois through 2018 advanced such access in the state:

2005:

- * Authorized early voting in the state.
- * Established paid 2-hour leave for voting by employees.
- * Expanded information on state website.
- * Provided downloadable and printable voter registration forms in at least English and Spanish.⁶³

2014:

- * Authorized election-day voter registration.
- * Extended the hours and time-period for early voting.
- * Established early voting at high traffic locations on campuses of public universities.
- * Extended the grace period for registering or changing registration.
- * Eliminated the identification requirement for early voting.
- * Provided time-off for persons employed by large firms to work as election judges.
- * Expanded the time window for requesting an absentee ballot.⁶⁴

2018:

- * Authorized automatic voter registration at state agencies.⁶⁵

An independent study on access to voting and registration published in *Election Law Journal* in 2020 confirms Dr. Grumbach's finding that these initiatives vaulted Illinois to among the leading states. Based on some thirty indicators the authors developed a cost of voting index (COVI). The

⁶³ House Bill 1968, Public Act 94-0645.

⁶⁴ Public Act 98-0691.

⁶⁵ Public Act 100-0464.

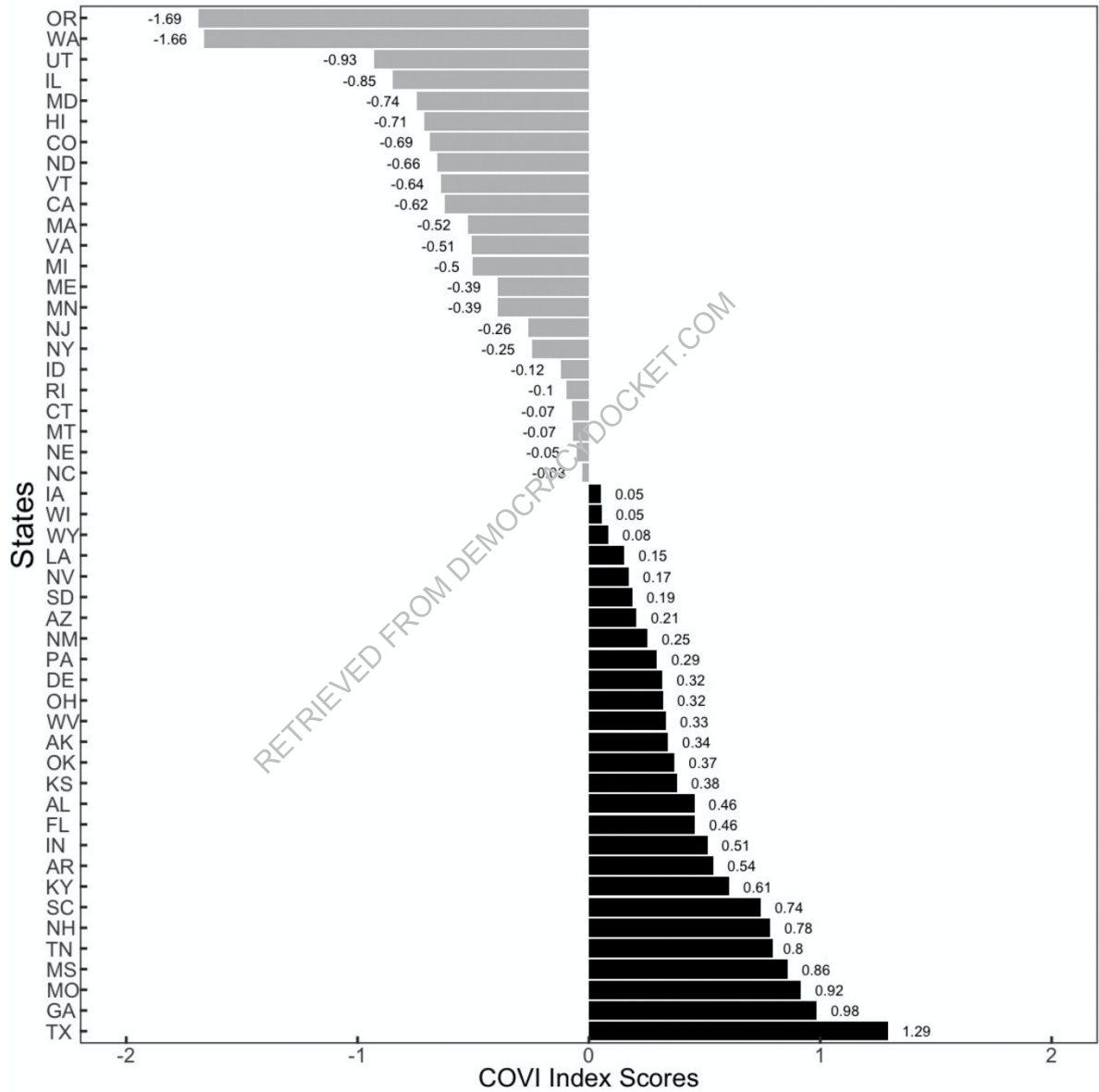
lower the COVI score the score the greater the access to registration and voting in the state. As shown in Figure 1, consistent with Dr. Grumbach's findings, Illinois has the fourth lowest COVI score, meaning it is fourth highest among the states in Democratic access. The only states ahead of Illinois are Utah, Washington, and Oregon, which conduct all elections by mail. Among states that do not conduct all mail-in voting, Illinois ranks first in the study. Also consistent with Dr. Grumbach's findings, the authors of the *Election Law Journal* study found that Illinois have moved up to number 4, from number 12 in their previous study.

In 2021, since the conducting of these studies, Illinois has adopted additional initiatives to facilitate access to voting in the state. The same state legislature that adopted the redistricting plan SB 927, also adopted SB 825, which significantly expanded democratic access. Among S.B. 825's key provisions, it authorized voters to apply for permanent vote-by-mail status so that they would receive mail-in ballots for all future elections unless they opted out. It authorized curbside voting and allowed election officials to accept mail-in ballots with insufficient postage. It established voting centers across the state, where registrants could vote regardless of their precinct. It established the November 2022 Election Day as a state and school holiday. It clarified the pathway for former felons to vote, expanded access to voter registration at high schools, and set up voting at county jails for persons held but not convicted of crime. The bill requires election officials to devise means for allowing disabled people to vote by mail in private rather than be assisted by someone in the voting booth. It tightened cybersecurity measures for elections and also postponed the primary from March to June to account for delays related to the pandemic and the Census. The bill allowed but did not require counties to use American

FIGURE 1

COST OF VOTING RANKINGS BY STATE, 2020

[Scot Schraufnagel](#), [Michael J. Pomante II](#) and [Quan Li](#), “Cost of Voting in the American States,” *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, 2020, 19(4), Figure 1.



Community Survey data for the 2021 redistricting. It also pushed back the date for county redistricting plans.⁶⁶

Consistent with Dr. Grumbach’s finding of the relationship between Republicans and voting restricting, the COVI rankings from the *Election Law Journal* study show that the fifteen states with the worst COVI scores are all Republican controlled states (Table 1). The differences in the COVI scores between Illinois and these states is substantial, ranging from +1.19 to +1.24. Since the publication of these scores, in 2021, many Republican-controlled states have adopted new laws that restrict access to the ballot and expand partisan control over elections. According to an October 4, 2021, compilation by the Brennan Center for Justice, in 2021 11 states adopted new restrictive laws with no counterbalancing expansive measures. All these states have Republican-controlled state governments. The Brennan Center compilation notes that **“restrictive laws in four states — Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, and Texas — impose new or more stringent criminal penalties on election officials or other individuals.** These new criminal laws will deter election officials and other people who assist voters from engaging in ordinary,

⁶⁶ Illinois General Assembly, “Bill Status of SB 0825,” 102nd General Assembly, <https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/BillStatus.asp?DocNum=825&GAID=16&DocTypeID=SB&SessionID=110&GA=102>.
<https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/votehistory.asp?GA=102&DocNum=825&DocTypeID=SB&GAID=16&LegID=133452&SessionID=110>.

TABLE 1
FIFTEEN STATES WITH WORST COVI SCORES, COMPARED TO ILLINOIS,
FROM FIGURE 1

STATE	COVI SCORE	RANK	DIFFERENCE WITH ILLINOIS
ILLINOIS	-.85	4	
ARKANSAS	+.34	36	+1.19
OKAHOMA	+.37	37	+1.22
KANSAS	+.38	38	+1.23
ALABAMA	+.46	39	+1.31
FLORIDA	+.46	40	+1.31
INDIANA	+.51	41	+1.36
ARIZONA	+.54	42	+1.39
KENTUCKY	+.61	43	+1.46
SOUTH CAROLINA	+.74	44	+1.59
NEW HAMPSHIRE	+.78	45	+1.63
TENNESSEE	+.80	46	+1.65
MISSISSIPPI	+.86	47	+1.71
MISSOURI	+.92	48	+1.77
GEORGIA	+.98	49	+1.83
TEXAS	+1.29	50	+2.14

lawful, and often essential tasks.” (emphasis in original)⁶⁷

In Illinois, Republicans have opposed voter access bills, while proposing restrictive measures of their own. All Republicans in the General Assembly voted against the redistricting bill, SB 927. As shown in Table 2, the same Republicans in the General Assembly voted unanimously against the voter access bill SB 825. Only one Democrat in the State House voted against SB 825. All other Democrats in both chambers voted for the bill. Republicans voting against SB 825 included Dan McConchie, the Senate Minority Leader, and Jim Durkin, the House Minority Leader, the two lead McConchie plaintiffs. As further indicated in Table 2, Republicans had also voted unanimously against the landmark 2014 voter access bill. All Democrats in the General Assembly voted for the bill. Leader Durkin also voted against the 2014 voter access bill, H.B. 105.

While opposing voter access laws, Republicans in the Illinois General Assembly introduced voter restriction bills of their own. For example, Republican Senator Darren Bailey introduced legislation for voter photo identification requirement in Illinois. It is well established that photo voter ID laws have a disparate negative impact on minority voting opportunities. MALDEF and the NAACP have both been active in opposing photo voter ID laws for discriminating against minorities.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Brennan Center for Justice, “Voting Laws Roundup: October 2021,” 4 October 2021, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/voting-laws-roundup-october-2021>.

⁶⁸ MALDEF, “MALDEF Works In D.C. Court To Halt Restrictive Voter Id Law That Disenfranchises Latino Voters,” 11 July 2012, <https://www.maldef.org/2016/11/tx-voter-id-law>; NPR, “NAACP Takes Case Against Voter ID Laws to UN,” *Reuters*, 15 March 2012, <https://www.npr.org/2012/03/15/148678008/naacp-takes-case-against-voter-id-laws-to-un>.

RETRIEVED FROM DEMOCRACYDOCKET.COM

TABLE 2
PARTY VOTING FOR SB 825 IN 2021 AND HB 105 IN 2014

BILL	REPUBLICANS SENATE VOTE	DEMOCRATS SENATE VOTE	REPUBLICANS HOUSE VOTE	DEMOCRATS HOUSE VOTE
SB 825 2021	18 NO 0 AYE	41 AYE 0 NO	45 NO 0 AYE	72 AYE 1 NO
HB 105 2014 Public Act 98-0691	17 NO 0 AYE	39 AYE 0 NO	40 NO 0 AYE	64 AYE 1 NO
Sources: Illinois General Assembly, "Voting History for SB0825," 102 nd General Assembly, https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/votehistory.asp?GA=102&DocNum=825&DocTypeID=SB&GAId=16&LegID=133452&SessionID=110 ; Illinois General Assembly, "Voting History for HB0105, 98 TH General Assembly, https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/votehistory.asp?GA=98&DocNum=105&DocTypeID=HB&GAId=12&LegID=68487&SessionID=85 .				

Six Republican sponsors introduced HB1920, which requires officials to crosscheck each name on the voter registration rolls with the national Change of Address System information gathered by the United States Postal Service to determine if the changed address of each person who has filed a change of address has resulted in the removal of that person from the voting precinct or voting election district in which he or she was enrolled as a voter.”⁶⁹ Such crosschecks are notoriously inaccurate, especially for minorities.

I will now consider information and analysis relative to Factor 1 from expert submissions by the three sets of plaintiffs.

Dr. Charles Gallagher: *McConchie* Plaintiffs

The Gallagher report provides little information on the critical question raised by Factor 1, official discrimination on voting. The limited information that he does provide is outdated and makes no reference to crucial initiatives of the past twenty years, or the finding of Dr. Grumbach and other scholars that such initiatives have made Illinois a leading state in providing access to registration and voting. Dr. Gallagher presents allegations regarding official discrimination in voting on just four of the 48 paragraphs in his report (pp. 17-18). Without exception, the information he presents is outdated or irrelevant.

Dr. Gallagher begins by citing without attribution, that legal scholars have also found that “four decades after the enactment of the Voting Rights Act, racial discrimination in voting is far from over.” (p. 17) However, that is a generic quotation that is not specific to Illinois. He cites no authority for the proposition that racial discrimination in voting is far from over in Illinois, a proposition that is

⁶⁹ Illinois General Assembly, Bill Status of HB 1920, <https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/BillStatus.asp?DocNum=1920&GAID=16&DocTypeID=HB&SessionID=110&A=102>.

refuted by the studies cited above. To the extent there are efforts at racial discrimination in voting they are attempted by the Republicans, who lead the set of plaintiffs that hired Dr. Gallagher.

I tracked down the quotation on discrimination, it is from Law Professor Ellen Katz sixteen years ago, in a 2005 report from the University of Michigan. The quotation is indeed generic and not tied to Illinois. Moreover, the University of Michigan report backs up this claim with examples of recent racial discrimination in voting. None of the examples are from Illinois.⁷⁰

The generic 2005 quotation from Professor Katz is the most recent information in the Gallagher report. In support of his claim about official discrimination in voting Dr. Gallagher goes on to cite the following:

* The legislatures defense in 1983 of a 1981 redistricting plan for the state legislature.

* An effort in the town of Cicero in 2000 to put up for referendum an ordinance for an “18-month candidate residency requirement for city office.” (p. 18) According to the source that Dr. Gallagher cites, this effort was orchestrated by “the Republican political machine” in Cicero was not an action of the state.⁷¹

* Another example of racial discrimination in the 1981 redistricting plan for Illinois.

* Dr. Gallagher cites the Katz report in his declaration. That report, which covers voting rights enforcement through 2005 cites only the 1981 redistricting and the Cicero proposed ordinance as examples of voting discrimination in Illinois.⁷²

It is although time stopped in Illinois for acts on voting in 2000, and for state action, rather than the act of a single town, time stopped in 1981. For state actions on voting Dr. Gallagher presents nothing more up-to-date than the 1981 redistricting process from forty years ago.

⁷⁰ “Law School Report Shows Voting Rights Act Still.”

⁷¹ On the Road to Political Incorporation: The Status of Hispanics in the Town of Cicero, Illinois Mitzi Ramos, *Critique*, Spring 2004, p. 70.

⁷² *Documenting Discrimination in Voting: Judicial Findings Under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act Since 1982*, Ellen Katz with Margaret Aisenbrey, Anna Baldwin, Emma Cheuse, and Anna Weisbrodt, December 2005.

Dr. Gallagher similarly devotes little more of his report, less than two pages, on alleged official discrimination that is not directly tied to voting. See pages, 16-17 under the heading “Discrimination by State Actors.” Other information in the report, not under this heading, primarily relates to Factor 5, examined below. Even when considering actions in all policy realms, Dr. Gallagher presents little information on official state discrimination in Illinois and almost nothing that is up-to-date. This analysis is limited to housing and racial profiling in law enforcement.

On housing, Dr. Gallagher indicts the City of Chicago and the federal government for failures on housing discrimination but fails to cite any examples of official discrimination in housing by the state of Illinois. Dr. Gallagher cites a 1990s settlement agreement on combatting housing discrimination between a Hispanic organization and the city of Chicago, again not the state of Illinois. He cites allegedly lax enforcement of the federal Fair Housing Act of 1968 by the federal government, not the state of Illinois (pp. 16-17).

Dr. Gallagher does not indicate that Illinois was a pioneer in adopting a state Fair Housing Act that expands the scope of federal law by incorporating ten additional categories, including ancestry, citizenship, and arrest record. Dr. Gallagher does not mention that Illinois’ African American Attorney General Kwame Raoul was leader in seeking the Biden administration to reinstate an anti-discrimination rule on housing that the Trump administration had eliminated. The rule protects individuals against facially neutral housing and lending practices that result in discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, sex, disability or familial status.⁷³

⁷³ Illinois Attorney General, “Attorney General Raoul Urges Federal Government To Protect People From Discrimination In Housing,” 25 August 2021, https://illinoisattorneygeneral.gov/pressroom/2021_08/20210825.html.

He does not consider major housing initiatives enacted by the General Assembly in 2021, that Housing Action Illinois called “Key Wins for Affordable Housing,” all of which will benefit low-income minorities.⁷⁴ For example:

* HB 2621: Housing Action Illinois termed this legislation a “landmark bill” that “creates new resources to finance the development of affordable rental housing and establishes property tax policies to support owners of rental housing to invest in their properties and keep rents affordable. It also strengthens existing state law requiring communities with very small stocks of affordable housing to develop plans to remedy this shortage.

* SB 1561 According to Housing Action Illinois this bill makes it “a civil rights violation for a third-party loan modification service provider, because of unlawful discrimination, familial status, or an arrest record, to (1) refuse to engage in loan modification services, (2) alter the terms, conditions, or privileges of such services, or (3) discriminate in making such services available.”

* HB 2877: Housing Action Illinois said, “This hard-won legislation creates a strong set of protections for Illinoisans struggling to pay their rent or mortgages as a result of unprecedented economic instability caused by the pandemic.”

* HB 648: Housing Action Illinois noted that the Rental Housing Support Program under this bill, “provides rental assistance to extremely low households.”

Dr. Gallagher devotes one paragraph to law enforcement. He cites an ACLU which found that minority drivers were stopped and searched in greater proportion than white drivers in Illinois. But he fails to relate this phenomenon to official state of Illinois policy or show how it relates to voting. Dr. Gallagher does not mention that in the nexus between law enforcement and voting that

⁷⁴ Housing Action Illinois, “2021 Legislative Wrap-up,” 20 June 2021, <https://housingactionil.org/blog/2021/06/20/2021-general-assembly-wrap-up/>. All subsequent examples are from this war-up.

Illinois is one of 16 states that automatically restore felon voting rights when released from prison, even if on probation or parole. He does not mention, as cited above, that SB 825 in 2021 established a pioneering program of voting at county jails for persons held but not convicted of crime.

Dr. Lila Fernandez for Contreras Plaintiffs

In analyzing discrimination against Latinos, Dr. Fernandez's analysis primarily focuses on past events, with minimal attention to any developments after 2000. I counted that of 36 substantive pages of her report, 34 pages deal with circumstances before 2000, primarily before 1990. Her report does not reach the 1990s, until page 33. To provide information to sustain her analysis Dr. Fernandez presents six illustrations or tables in her report, all labeled "figures." With the exception of one largely irrelevant table on population changes, they all provide data from before 1984. The figures are as follows:

Figure 1: A worker registration card from 1954

Figure 2: Socioeconomic Indicators of Whites, Latinos/as, and African Americans in Chicago, 1980

Figure 3: Race category selected by Hispanic/Spanish-origin People in 1980 Census

Figure 4: Chicago Non-Voters in Local Elections, 1975-1983

Figure 5: Voter Registration and Turnout, 1975-1983

Figure 6: Cook County, Population Changes 2010-2020

Aside from Figure 6 which just presents population changes in Cook County, all of the figures that Dr. Fernandez deemed probative for sustaining her analysis are dated from 1954 to 1983.

Even for his early historical narrative she does not tie discrimination to official acts of the state but cites examples primarily from private discrimination or actions by particular local governments. She also combines indiscriminately issues related to Factor 1 with issues related to Factor 5 on socio-economic disparities, Factor 6 on racial appeals, and Factor 7 on the election of minority officials, which I will scrutinize in my consideration of these factors. on minority representation.

The following represents the de minimis analysis she presents on discrimination after 2000.

* Dr. Fernandez presented a vaguely stated claim without details that “Latinos also brought numerous cases before the Chicago Commission on Human Relations alleged employment discrimination against various employers as well as housing discrimination during the 1990s and 2000s. She cites allegations not proof (p. 37). Also, discrimination by employers and discrimination in housing do not represent officials act by the Illinois state government.

* She noted that “In education, MALDEF sued the U-46 school district [in] 2005 alleging discrimination in school assignments, school closures, English Language (ELL) services, and gifted education. Again, this lawsuit does not charge discrimination against the state government. She notes that a federal judge only found a violation with respect to gifted education (p. 37).

* “Even as recently as 2009, federal judges found realtors guilty” of racial steering (p. 37). The realtors, however, are private actors, not agents of the state.

* Dr. Fernandez says that “multiple incidents of polling place voter intimidation and harassment have been reported in Illinois.” (p. 35) Again, these are allegations without specificity and do not represent official actions by the state government.

Report of Franita Tolson, J.D., for NAACP Plaintiffs

This report can be dealt with quickly. Tolson’s report rests on a 20-page narrative that stops in the 1970s and focuses primarily on private actors and local government, without a recounting of any official acts by the state. The more recent information or analysis is represented only by brief comments on the 2021 redistricting and equally brief commentary on current social and economic problems in the city of East St. Louis, which are properly considered under Factor 5. In its “Brief for Compliance,” the NAACP plaintiffs recognize the limitations of the Tolson report: “As Professor Tolson recites, there is an unfortunate history of discrimination in voting in East St. Louis stretching back to post-Reconstruction through the *latter quarter of the twentieth century*.”⁷⁵ (emphasis added)

Factor 2: The Extent to Which Voting In The Elections of the State or Political Subdivision is Racially Polarized.

As compared to the analysis of Factor 1 where there was little if any up-to-date relevant information from plaintiffs’ experts, two experts – Dr. Jacob Grumbach for the Contreras plaintiffs and Dr. Anthony Fowler for the McConchie plaintiffs present information on racially polarized voting beyond a single district. I will incorporate their analyses into the main body of the considered Factor and then briefly address the Collingwood report that focuses on one House District (114).

Both the reports of Dr. Grumbach and Dr. Fowler present a restricted definition of racially polarized voting. The purpose of addressing Factor 2 is not abstract. It is relevant to the totality of circumstances facing minority voters because it can cast light on minority opportunities to elect candidates of their choice to office. Both reports find racially polarized

⁷⁵ East St. Louis Branch, NAACP, “Plaintiffs’ Brief in Compliance,” p. 34.

voting whenever there is a difference between the Latino and non-Latino or white (Fowler only, Grumbach does not analyze white voting patterns) or black and non-black or white (Fowler only, Grumbach does not examine black voting) levels of support for candidates. For example, Dr. Grumbach finds racially polarized voting in the 2018 general election Congressional District 4 where Hispanics voted 92.7% for winning Hispanic candidate Jesus “Chuy” Garcia and non-Hispanic vote 84.7% for Garcia. Dr. Fowler examines polarization between Hispanic and non-Hispanic support for Democratic and Republican candidates in statewide elections. He found racially polarized voting in the 2016 general election for U.S. Senate in which he estimated that 54% of Hispanics, 98.5% of Blacks and 76.7% of Asians voted for Democratic Asian challenger Tammy Duckworth over white Republican incumbent Mark Kirk. He found polarized voting in the 2008 general election for U.S. Senate in which he estimated that 55.9% of whites, 97.7% of Blacks, 82.3% of Hispanics, and 67% of Asians voted for Democratic incumbent Dick Durbin over white Republican challenger Steve Sauerberg.

As these examples illustrate, the assessment of numerical differences in minority and white voting patterns is the beginning, not the end, of a racially polarized voting analysis that illuminates minority electoral opportunities in Illinois. It is necessary in addition, to examine whether minority and non-minority candidates have the same candidates of choice (as in the above examples) or differ in their preferred candidate. Further, it is necessary to consider when minority and non-minority voters do not share the same candidates of choice to assess the degree of white crossover for the minority preferred candidate. For example, Dr. Fowler found that racial polarization which he gauges by examining Black-white and Hispanic-white disparities, was 49.7% for Black-white and 26.6% for Hispanic-white in the 2014 general election for governor. He found comparable polarization in the next 2018 election for governor, at 48.1% and

31.5% respectively. A white crossover voting of 48.1% although short of a majority was sufficient to elect the minority preferred gubernatorial candidate in 2018.

It should be noted that in her report, Dr. Collingwood contradicts the restricted approach to racially polarized voting taken by Dr. Grumbach and Dr. Fowler. She indicates appropriately that an analysis of racially polarized voting must consider whether minorities or white (or in the case of Grumbach's calculations Hispanics and non-Hispanics) form coalitions with the same candidates of choice. In the section of her report entitled "Racially Polarized Voting," Dr. Collingwood writes:

"In a two-candidate election contest, RPV is present when a majority of voters belonging to one racial/ethnic group vote for one candidate and a majority of voters who belong to another racial/ethnic group prefer the other candidate. The favored candidate is called a "candidate of choice." *However, if a majority of voters of one racial group back a particular candidate and so do a majority of voters from another racial group, then RPV is not present in that contest.*"

(emphasis added, p. 3)

This same logic would apply in multi-candidate primaries if a plurality of voters from one racial group back a particular candidate and so do a plurality but not necessarily a majority of voters from another racial group.

MALDEF, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), and the Asian American Justice Center agree with Dr. Collingwood that an analysis of racially polarized voting must consider whether voters of different races support different candidates and cannot rest on numerical differences in voting if the preferred candidates are the same. In their Guide to Redistricting, these civil rights organizations define racially polarized voting as follows:

“Racially polarized voting is a pattern of voting along racial lines where voters of the same race support the same candidate who is different from the candidate supported by voters of a different race.”⁷⁶

Dr. Collingwood additional notes that in considering racially polarized voting it is important to consider the degree of support for the preferred candidate of one racial group, from voters of another racial group even when they do not share the same preferred candidate. She writes, “In situations where RPV is clearly present, majority voters may be able to block minority voters from electing candidates of choice.” (p. 3) As indicated below that may not be the case if crossover voting from members of another racial group is sufficiently robust, even absent a common candidate of choice.

Dr. Fowler presents his analysis of racially polarized voting in his Table 1, entitled “Racially Polarized Voting in Illinois.” He examines 13 statewide general elections, using survey data from the Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Several salient conclusions can be drawn from this Table. First, the data in the Table shows that in a majority of the elections (7 of 13) that Dr. Fowler chose as probative, minority and white voters had the same candidate of choice. Second, the data shows that in 12 of these 13 elections, the white crossover was more than 40%, sufficient to elect the minority candidate of choice.

Thus, the minority candidate of choice prevailed in 12 of 13 elections chosen by Dr. Fowler in a state that is 11.2% Hispanic and 15% Black in its minority CVAP percentage, far below the Hispanic CVAP of any districts challenged by any set of plaintiffs. Overall, the

⁷⁶ MALDEF, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), and the Asian American Justice Center, “The Impact of Redistricting in Your Community: A Guide to Redistricting,” at 75, <https://www.maldef.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/redistricting.pdf>

minority CVAP in Illinois is 31%, far below the minority CVAP of any challenged district. As shown in the section of my report on Gingles Prong 3, all the districts challenged for insufficient Hispanic CVAP percentages are majority-minority. The one remaining district challenged for insufficient Black CVAP is 42.6% in its minority CVAP, still well above statewide levels. Overall, Dr. Fowler finds that for his thirteen elections that the average white crossover vote for the minority-preferred Democratic candidate was 48.5%, just short of a majority, and more than enough to elect such candidates statewide and in any challenged district.

Although Fowler examines survey data for exogenous statewide elections, he does not examine survey results for the more probative endogenous state legislative elections. In both of the most recent election cycles, 2018 and 2020, the Congressional Cooperative Election Study on which Dr. Fowler relies, report survey results in Illinois for State Senate and State House elections. Those results are reported in Table 3.

For consistency with Dr. Fowler's procedure, I have reported the 95% confidence intervals for each estimate, but they make no consequential difference for results. The results reported in Table 3 show that for the two most recent election cycles, for both State Senate and State House elections, whites, Blacks, Hispanic, and Asians in Illinois all shared the same preferred Democratic candidates. The results show that in addition to overwhelming minority support a majority of white voters backed the Democratic candidate with considerable consistency: 56.8% for State Senate in 2020, 56.3% for State House in 2020, 53.9% for State

TABLE 3

WHITE AND MINORITY VOTING IN ILLINOIS, DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES FOR STATE LEGISLATIVE POSITIONS, ILLINOIS, 2018 AND 2020, COOPERATIVE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION STUDY⁷⁷

PERCENTAGE VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE STATE SENATE 2020			
WHITES	BLACKS	HISPANICS	ASIANS
56.8%	96.7%	75.9%	83.0%
53.9% to 59.8%	93.4% to 98.7%	67.0% to 83.3%	69.2% to 92.4%
PERCENTAGE VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE STATE HOUSE 2020			
WHITES	BLACKS	HISPANICS	ASIANS
56.3%	95.9%	76.3%	80.4%
53.4% to 59.2%	92.8% to 98.4%	67.6% to 83.6%	66.1% to 90.6%
PERCENTAGE VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE STATE SENATE 2018			
WHITES	BLACKS	HISPANICS	ASIANS
53.9%	95.9%	73.1%	77.5%
51.0% to 56.8%	92.3% to 98.1%	62.9% to 81.8%	66.6% to 89.6%
PERCENTAGE VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE STATE HOUSE 2018			
WHITES	BLACKS	HISPANICS	ASIANS
53.4%	94.5%	72.0%	84.6%
50.5% to 56.3%	90.6% to 97.1%	61.8% to 80.9s%	69.5% to 94.1%

Senate in 2018, and 53.4% for State House in 2018. For each of the results, the lowest confidence level for white voting is above 50%.

⁷⁷ Cooperative congressional Election Study, <https://cces.gov.harvard.edu/data>.

Dr. Fowler does not report any results for statewide Democratic primaries in which most minorities vote. However, ABC News did conduct an exit poll for the 2008 Democratic primary between Black candidate Barack Obama and white candidate Hillary Clinton. Given that the primary was nationwide we can also compare minority and white voting in Illinois to national results. The results reported in Table 4 for the two candidates show that a majority 57% of white voters voted in coalition with an overwhelming majority of Black voters to back Obama. By contrast, only 39% of white voters nationwide voted for Obama in the 2008 primaries, for a differential of 18 percentage points. Obama and Clinton evenly split the Hispanic vote in Illinois, whereas Clinton won the Hispanic vote nationwide with 61%.⁷⁸

Additional insight into polarized voting in primary elections can be obtained through examining the state legislative primary elections analyzed by Dr. Grumbach, supplemented by a few analyzed only by Dr. Chen. As in the section on Prong 3 I report only results that I verified and, in a few cases, corrected. I examine again, elections between Hispanics and non-Hispanics, conducted in probative state legislative districts of 25%+ Hispanic CVAP. Table 5 reports the results for primary elections analyzed by Dr. Grumbach.

⁷⁸ The ABC survey does not provide the data for confidence intervals, but they are likely small given the large size of the national sample and the substantial component of the black and Hispanic vote in the Illinois primary, 24% and 17% respectively, much larger than in a general election. A small scattering of votes was cast for other candidates, which is why the percentages do not quite add to 100%.

TABLE 4
WHITE & MINORITY VOTING BARACK OBAMA V. HILLARY CLINTON, 2008
DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

	NATIONAL RESULTS		STATE OF ILLINOIS RESULTS	
	OBAMA	CLINTON	OBAMA	CLINTON
% WHITE VOTERS FOR	39%	55%	57%	41%
% BLACK VOTERS FOR	82%	15%	93%	5%
% HISPANIC VOTERS FOR	35%	61%	50%	49%
Source: ABC News 2008 Democratic Primary Exit Poll Results - Key Groups				

Table 5 reports the Hispanic and non-Hispanic vote for primary elections in state legislative districts of 25+ Hispanic CVAP. As indicated in the section on Gingles Prong 3, I was

able to verify Dr. Grumbach's results with one correction where Dr. Grumbach's estimates only added up to 51% of the vote.

As indicated in Table 5, for fourteen Hispanic v. non-Hispanic elections that Dr. Grumbach analyzed in districts with at least at 25%+ Hispanic CVAP, Hispanics and non-Hispanics had the same candidates of choice in 10 of 14 elections, for a coalition rate of 71%. Moreover, the mean non-Hispanic vote for the Hispanic candidate of choice is a 55% majority.

Dr. Chen also analyzed voting patterns in an additional three Hispanic v. non-Hispanic state legislative primaries in districts with a 25%+ Hispanic CVAP. Unlike, Dr. Grumbach, Dr. Chen does not combine non-Hispanic voters into a single group, but he analyzes white voters separately. Those three elections are shown in Table 6. As indicated in Table 6, a majority of both Hispanic and white voters backed the Hispanic candidate of choice by wide margins. The mean white vote for the Hispanic candidates of choice in these elections was 73%. As indicated in Chart 2, when the results for Dr. Grumbach's and Dr. Chen's analyses are combined, Hispanic and non-Hispanic or white voters had the same candidate of choice in 13 of 17 elections for a coalition rate of 76%.

**TABLE 5
STATE LEGISLATIVE PRIMARIES EXAMINED BY DR. GRUMBACH**

COUNT	DISTRICT & ELECTION ALL DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES	CAND. OF CHOICE OF HISPANIC VOTERS	% OF HISPANIC VOTE	% NON-HISP. VOTE FOR HISP. CANDIDATE OF CHOICE	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF NON-HISP. VOTERS	HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE WINS?*
1	HD 1 2018	ORTIZ	61%	43%	NO	YES
2	HD 2 2016	ACEVEDO	66%	34%*	NO	NO
3	HD 2 2020	MAH	61%	58%	YES	YES
4	HD 4 2016	SOTO	95%	71%	YES	YES
5	HD 4 2018	RAMIREZ	67%	37%**	YES	YES
6	HD 22 2012	MADIGAN	82%	66%	YES	YES
7	HD 22 2016	MADIGAN	64%	68%	YES	YES
8	HD 39 2012	BERRIOS	65%	39%	NO	YES
9	HD 39 2014	BERRIOS	75%	10%	NO	NO
10	HD 40 2014	ANDRADE	56%	47%	YES	YES
11	HD 40 2016	ANDRADE	71%	53%	YES	YES
12	HD 40 2020	ANDRADE	72%*	63%	YES	YES
13	SD 12 2012	LANDEK	57%	82%	YES	YES
14	SD 20 2018	MARTINEZ	73%	54%	YES	YES
* Corrected Percentage. ** Hispanic Preferred Candidate wins plurality in four-candidate primary.						
SUM: 10 OF 14 PRIMARY ELECTIONS WITH SAME CANDIDATE OF CHOICE: COLATION RATE = 71%						
MEAN NON-HISPANIC VOTE FOR HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE: 55%						

TABLE 6
STATE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS ANALYZED BY CHEN, NOT ANALYZED BY DR.
GRUMBACH

COUNT	DISTRICT & ELECTION ALL DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES	CAND. OF CHOICE OF HISPANIC VOTERS	% OF HISPANIC VOTE	% WHITE VOTE FOR HISP. CANDIDATE OF CHOICE	CANDIDATE OF CHOICE OF WHITE VOTERS	HISPANIC CANDIDATE OF CHOICE WINS?*
1	HD 77 2016	WILLIS	63%	98%	YES	YES
2	SD 22 2016	CASTRO	95%	54%	YES	YES
3	SD 22 2020	CASTRO	96%	78%	YES	YES

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RACIALLY POLARIZATION IN REGION OF HD 114

Dr. Collingwood and Dr. Chen analyze racially polarized voting in the region of HD 114. She analyzes polarization for Black and white voters. Dr. Collingwood states that for her racially polarized voting analysis “At issue in this report is whether the SB927 version of Illinois House District 114 potentially dilutes Black voters’ *ability to elect* candidates of choice” (pp. 3-4) Under the heading of “Racially Polarized Results,” Dr. Collingwood presents her racially polarized voting analysis in Figure 1: “Figure 1 presents the results of the ecological inference racially polarized voting analysis of seven contests between a Black and white candidate from 2014-2020.” (p. 6)

As discussed in my Prong 3 section, this Figure consists of seven black v. white contests mostly in districts or jurisdictions (St. Clair County) with black CVAP percentages lower than challenged HD 114. Polarization between blacks and whites on the surface appears substantial in these elections, because of the extreme degree of black cohesion, ranging from 85% to 99%. Under these circumstances, the white crossover vote, which ranges from 39% to 27% fails her test of diluting the ability of black voters to elect candidates of choice. When corrected, Figure 1 shows that black candidates won six of seven elections.

Factor 3: The extent to which the state or political subdivision has used voting practices or procedures that tend to enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group, such as unusually large election districts, majority-vote requirements, and prohibitions against bullet voting.

None of these components of Factor 3 are relevant to Illinois. The state does not have unusually large election districts, majority vote requirements, or prohibitions against bullet

voting. None apply to state legislative elections in Illinois. None of the expert reports submitted by plaintiffs analyze Senate Factor 3.

The only mention of Senate Factor 3 occurs in the Contreras brief. The little material presented in the brief is irrelevant and outdated. The brief cites three court cases on redistricting, which do not address any elements of Factor 3 and are long outdated. They range in date from 1983 to 1991 and do not relate to any of the elements of this factor. While citing these past redistricting cases, the brief fails to note that in 2001 and 2011 courts rejected efforts by plaintiffs to overturn the state's redistricting plans. The brief further mentions the 2000 effort by the town of Cicero to establish a residency requirement. This effort was organized by the Republican machine in Cicero, was not successful, and involved one town, not the state government. It is also long outdated.

While relying on these scanty and largely irrelevant examples from twenty-one to 38-years-ago, plaintiffs fail to consider the many recent initiatives to open registration and voting to all citizens of the state. The Contreras plaintiffs do not refer to the research of their expert Dr. Grumbach and other scholars demonstrated that these efforts have vaulted Illinois to third or fourth among all states in facilitating registration and voting. Dr. Grumbach concluded that "Illinois and Vermont move from the middle of the pack in 2000 to among the top democratic performers in 2018." Since 2018 there have been additional initiatives such as SB 825 by the Illinois state legislature to make registration and voting more accessible in the state. To the extent there have been efforts in Illinois to restrict access to the ballot, as demonstrated in my examination of Factor 1, Republicans in the General Assembly have orchestrated those efforts, not the Democrats who voted for SB 927 and enacted SB 825 over Republican opposition. The

Illinois experience confirms Dr. Grumbach's finding that Republican control of government "dramatically reduces states' democratic performance."⁷⁹

Factor 4: The exclusion of members of the minority group from candidate slating processes.

Only the Contreras submission and the report of Dr. Lilia Fernandez briefly refer to Factor 4. The Contreras brief provides no statistics or up-to-date information of any kind. It relies on a reference to one brief paragraph on slating in the report of Dr. Lilia Fernandez (pp. 34-35). Dr. Fernandez refers only to judges and the only information she provides beyond the 1980s, is a 2011 article in the Chicago Tribune discussing the influence of now retired Speaker of the Illinois State House Mike Madigan on judicial appointments in Cook County. The article says nothing about the racial composition of his recommendations or the state of slating today.

I would note that in Cook County today, the Chief Judge, Timothy C. Evans, is Black and the State's Attorney, Kimberly M. Fox, is Black. The Clerk of the Circuit Court, Iris Martinez, is Hispanic. The president of the County Board of Commissioners is Black, and nine of 17 Commissioners (53%) are Black or Hispanic. Statewide, five of eight elected executive officials (62.5%) are minority, including the Black Attorney General Kwame Raoul. All are Democrats. The Contreras plaintiffs also cite a court decision from 25-years ago about the lack of slating of minorities by the Democratic Party in Chicago. However, the Democratic Legislative Caucus staff has provided information on current slating practices in by the Chicago Democratic Party. The most recent slating process for the 2020 election cycle is reproduced as Compilation 1, as it was presented to me. As indicated the slating is diverse and does not exclude Blacks or Latinos.

⁷⁹ *Id.*, at 1.

Chicago is 32.8% Black and 20% Hispanic in its CVAP. Of 16 slated candidates with racial IDs, four are Hispanic (25%) and eight are Black (50%). As noted earlier, of 3 citywide elected officials in Chicago, are all minority. The Mayor and Treasurer are Black, and the City Clerk is Hispanic. Currently 33 members of the 50 person Chicago City Council (66%) are Black or Hispanic.

Factor 5: The Extent to Which Minority Group Members Bear the Effects of Past Discrimination in Areas Such as Education, Employment, and Health, Which Hinder Their Ability to Participate Effectively In The Political Process.

I do not dispute that in Illinois as in virtually every state there are substantial socio-economic disparities between whites and both Blacks and Hispanics. I do not dispute that Hispanics and to a lesser extent Blacks have lower turnout rates than whites. I do not dispute that Chicago is a highly segregated city. If it were to rest there then, Factor 5 would essentially apply to nearly all states. However, that is where my agreement ends. Other than the presentation of this information, analysis is lacking with respect to Factor 5.

COMPILATION 1

Cook County Democratic Party Endorsed Countywide Candidates

Diversity Key

A – Asian American

AA – African American

F – Female

L – Latinx

LGBT - LGBT

2020

Kim Foxx (AA/F)

Mike Cabonargi

Cam Davis

Kim Du Buclet (AA/F)

Eira Corral Sepulveda (L/F)

P. Scott Neville, Jr. (AA)

Michael B. Hyman

John C. Griffin

Kerrie Maloney Laytin (F)

James T. Derico, Jr. (AA/LGBT)

Laura Ayala-Gonzalez (L/F)

Celestia L. Mays (AA/F)

Sheree D. Henry (AA/F)

Levander Smith, Jr. (AA/LGBT)

Chris Stacey

Teresa Molina (L/F)

Lloyd James Brooks (AA)

Lynn Weaver Boyle (F)

Araceli De La Cruz (L/F)

Maura McMahan Zeller (F)

Jill Rose Quinn (LGBT/F)

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First, plaintiffs do not tie current socio-economic disparities to past or current policies or practices of the state of Illinois. The key admission comes from the McConchie brief, page 18. With respect to Factor 5 the brief states that based on the report of the McConchie expert Charles Gallagher, “He explains that institutionalized discriminatory practices that were in place for multiple decades (or centuries) such as redline, restrictive covenants, and racial steering in the real estate market, continue to cause socioeconomic harm and deprivation today.” Taking this

claim at face values, it points to practices by the federal government (redlining, which took place across the nation) and private parties (restrictive covenants racial). Neither Dr. Gallagher in its report nor the McConchie plaintiffs in their brief tie this discrimination to any politics or practices of the state of Illinois.

The Contreras brief is silent on Factor 5. With respect to the report of their expert on socio-economic disparities and turnout, the latest data she presents in her tables on these matters are from the early 1980s. Dr. Fernandez is also not up-to-date in her claims that social-economic disparities has led to lagging minority representation in the two jurisdictions where the minority population is most concentrated: Chicago and Cook County has “lagged historically” (with no citation other than to population data, p. 37).

Dr. Fernandez goes on to say that “As Latinos continue to lag behind whites in all socioeconomic measures—income, employment, education, homeownership, wealth, health indicators, etc.—their need for equitable political representation will persist. And their lack of political representation will most likely perpetuate those inequalities.” ((pp. 37-38) Dr. Fernandez provides no data on minority political representation. Despite the limitations cited by Dr. Fernandez her claim about lagging political representation does not fit the current facts. Although both Hispanics and blacks lag behind on whites on the above indicators, these groups have defied Dr. Fernandez’s prediction and achieved more than proportional political representation. As noted above minorities hold 5 of 8 statewide elected positions, a majority of the Cook County elected officials, a majority of the Cook County Board of Commissioners, all three citywide elected offices and a majority of the Chicago Aldermen. I will further examine minority representation in the context of Factor 7.

On turnout I will note that plaintiffs' experts provide only data on general elections. Illinois is Democratic-dominated state. The critical election is usually the Democratic primary, that is especially the case in the overwhelmingly Democratic regions where the challenged districts are located. Turnout data in primaries is difficult to find, but there is available survey data from the 2008 Democratic primary in Illinois between Black candidate Barack Obama and white candidate Hillary Clinton. Table 7 compares the share of the minority and white electorate in the primary as compared to the minority and white share of the electorate in the election of 2008, and the CVAP at the time. As shown in Table 7, the white percentage of the primary electorate is substantially lower than its percentage of the electorate in the general election. Conversely, the minority percentage of the primary electorate is substantially higher than its percentage of the general electorate.

Finally, plaintiffs' claim that socio-economic disparities hinder the ability of minority to gain resources for elections. The Contreras brief states that "Due to these disparities in socioeconomics, people of lower income levels often are unable to financially support a candidate's campaign and often have greater difficulty in getting to the polls." The inability of minorities to finance campaigns is not true in Illinois. In Table 3 on page 3 of his report, Dr. Fowler compiles data on campaign finance in "Elections of Interest." His data shows that in most contests between

TABLE 7
MINORITY PERCENTAGE IN THE 2008 DEMOCRATIC PRSIDENTIAL PRIMARY
COMPARED TO MINORITY CVAP AND THE 2008 GENERAL ELECTION,
ILLINOIS

GROUP	% OF 2008 PRIMARY ELECTORATE	% OF 2008 GENERAL ELECTORATE	DIFFERENCE PRIMARY- GENERAL
WHITE	57%	68%	-11 PERCENTAGE PTS
BLACK	24%	16%	+8 PERCENTAGE PTS
HISPANIC	17%	11%	+6 PERCENTAGE PTS

Sources: ABC News, 2008 Democratic Primaries, Exit Poll Results, <https://abcnews.go.com/images/PollingUnit/08DemPrimaryKeyGroups.pdf>; CNN Exit Poll, 2008, Illinois, <https://www.cnn.com/election/2016/results/exit-polls/illinois/president>.

minorities pr minority preferred candidates and whites, the minorities have spent more than the competition on the campaign.

Plaintiffs suggest that Dr. Fowler's data explains why minority candidates or minority preferred candidates win so often in districts above 25% minority CVAP. But that puts the cart before the horse. Minorities are able to raise funds not because they are minorities (which should be a

disability for fundraising given socio-economic disparities) but because they have broad support in the community. This support is validated by the ability of minority candidates more often than not to form interracial coalitions. It is interesting that plaintiffs on the one hand claim that minority candidates can't win except in districts or jurisdictions that are 50%+ single-race minority CVAP, but then keep looking for rationales as to why they do win.

Factor 6: The Use of Overt or Subtle Racial Appeals in Political Campaigns.

In their submitted briefs, the three plaintiffs cite one fairly recent racial appeal presented by an expert. In its brief on page 30, the Contreras plaintiffs cite a statement from Republican 2004 Senate candidate Jim Oberweis on immigrants, included in the Fernandez report. By contrast, in investigating this Senate Factor for Texas, I found more than 25 racial appeals, all more recent than 2004.⁸⁰

The two main sources for documenting racial appeals in political campaigns are America's Voice, "Ad Tracker" and the Campaign Legal Center, "Race in Our Politics: A Catalogue of Campaign Materials."⁸¹ These sources do not document any racial appeals by Democrats, whose party was responsible for enacting the challenged plans. in political campaigns in Illinois. They do, however, document racial appeals by Republicans like Jim Oberweis.

* In the 2020 general election campaign in Illinois Congressional District 17, the American Liberty Fund ran an ad attacking Democratic incumbent Cheri Bustos for allegedly supporting Black Lives Matter and its alleged role in violence and mayhem in American cities.

⁸⁰ The best source is America's Voice, Ad Tracker, <https://americasvoice.org/tag/ads-tracking/>, and Campaign Legal Center, "Race in Our Politics: A Catalogue of Campaign Materials," <https://campaignlegal.org/race-our-politics-catalog-campaign-materialst>

⁸¹ America's Voice, Ad Tracker; Campaign Legal Center, "Race in Our Politics: A Catalogue of Campaign Materials," <https://campaignlegal.org/race-our-politics-catalog-campaign-materials>.

* In the 2020 general election campaign in Illinois in Congressional District 14, the Republican Congressional Leadership Fund ran an ad that pictured Democratic incumbent Lauren Underwood, who is Black, with two prominent minority members of Congress, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Rashid Talib. In bold, capital letters it charged that “CONGRESSWOMAN UNDERWOOD HAS COME UNHINGED! WHILE FAR-LEFT EXTREMISTS PUSH FOR OPEN BORDERS, HURL ANTI-SEMITIC REMARKS AND ATTACK AMERICAN HEROES, CONGRESSWOMAN UNDERWOOD STANDS RIGHT THERE WITH THEM.”⁸²

* In the 2020 general election campaign in Illinois Congressional District 14, Underwood’s Republican opponent, the same Jim Oberweis, falsely claimed that illegal aliens were coming to America to receive free health care paid for with American tax dollars and taking jobs from Americans.⁸³

* In the 2020 general election campaign in Illinois Congressional District 6, Republican candidate Jeanne Ives, a former Illinois State Representative, charged “smug politicians like Sean Casten (the District 6 Democratic incumbent) were joining violent protests: “But when riots broke out and protesters filled the streets, those same ‘leaders’ [who had backed COVID-19 restrictions] decided that COVID-19 wasn’t so dangerous after all and joined them.” The ad features a picture of a flaming Chicago police vehicle, with a shadowy figure poised to launch a large object.⁸⁴

⁸² Ad Tracker, <http://2020adwatch.com/node/98>.

⁸³ Ad Tracker, <http://2020adwatch.com/node/562>. As shown in an AP fact check, illegal immigrants are not entitled to free health care in the United States. Jude Joffe-Block, “Immigrants in the US Illegally are not Eligible for Free Health Care Under the ACA,” 21 October 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/fact-checking-afs:Content:9587751367>.

⁸⁴ Ad Tracker, <http://2020adwatch.com/taxonomy/term/230>.

In the 2018 Republican primary for governor, then State Representative Jeanne Ives ran an ad against her opponent Governor Bruce Rauner. The ad featured a black woman in a Chicago Teacher's Union tee shirt. She says, "Thank you [Rauner] for making the rest of Illinois bail out Chicago teacher pensions and giving Rahm Emanuel everything he wanted and more." However, the black woman is not a teacher's union member, but a paid actress.⁸⁵

Factor 7: The Extent to Which Members of the Minority Group Have Been Elected to Public Office in the Jurisdiction.

I have already presented considerable information on this matter and will briefly summarize that data and then focus on representation in the Illinois State Legislature.

To put data in perspective, the Illinois CVAP is 15% Black, 11.2% Hispanic, and 31.4% total minority. The Cook County CVAP is 26% Black, 17.7% Hispanic, 50.7% total minority. The city of Chicago CVAP is 32.8% Black, 20% Hispanic and majority- minority.

- Minorities hold 5 of 8 offices elected statewide (Senator, state executives), compared to just 3 such offices for 5 states with comparable statewide minority CVAP.
- Minorities hold a majority of countywide officers in Cook County and a majority of positions on the County Board.
- Minorities hold all three elected citywide offices in Chicago and 66% of Aldermanic positions.

With respect to representation in the General Assembly, Black representatives have already achieved super-proportionality in the Illinois State House and State Senate. As shown in Table 8 for State Houses, Black representatives in Illinois hold 22 State House seats, equal to 18.6% of the House membership. That is 3.6 percentage points *above* the 15.0% Black share of

⁸⁵ Campaign Legal Center, <https://campaignlegal.org/race-our-politics-catalog-campaign-materials>.

the CVAP in Illinois (including multiracial Blacks and Whites). Nationally, Blacks hold only 10.5% of State House seats, which is 2.4 percentage point *below* the 12.9% Black share of the national CVAP.

For State Senates, shown in Table 9, Black Senators in Illinois hold 12 State Senate seats, equal to 20.3% of the Senate membership. That is 5.3 percentage points *above* the 15.0% Black share of the CVAP in Illinois. Nationally, Blacks hold only 9.5% of State Senate seats, which is 3.4 percentage points *below* the 12.9% Black share of the national CVAP.

Tables 10 and 11 consider Hispanic representation in the Illinois State House and State Senate respectively, with comparison to national data. As per Table 10, Hispanics hold ten Illinois State House seats, equal to 8.5% of House membership. That is 2.7 percentage points below the 11.2% Hispanic share of the CVAP in Illinois. Nationally, Hispanics hold only 5% of State House seats, which is 7.4 percentage points below the 12.4% Hispanic share of the national CVAP. As per Table 11, Hispanics hold six Illinois State Senate seats, equal to 10.2% of Senate membership. That is just 1.0 percentage point below the 11.2% Hispanic share of the CVAP in Illinois. Nationally, Hispanics hold only 5% of State Senate seats, which is 7.4 percentage points below the 12.4% Hispanic share of the national CVAP.

The one plaintiffs' expert who attempts to analyze minority representation in the Illinois General Assembly does not provide accurate information. Dr. Fernandez, on page 9 of her report, states that "there are only 6 Latino Illinois state senators (out of a total of 59) and 8 Latino

**TABLE 8
BLACK REPRESENTATION IN THE ILLINOIS STATE HOUSE, COMPARED TO
NATIONAL REPRESENTATION**

ILLINOIS DATA				
BLACKS IN STATE HOUSE	TOTAL MEMBERS	BLACK %	BLACK CVAP %	DIFFERENCE
22	118	18.6%	15.0%	+3.6 PERCENTAGE PTS
NATIONAL DATA				
BLACKS IN STATE HOUSES	TOTAL MEMBERS	BLACK %	BLACK CVAP %	DIFFERENCE
569	5,411	10.5%	12.9%	-2.4 PERCENTAGE POINTS
Source: Carl Smith, "Blacks in State Legislatures," <i>Governing</i> , 13 January 2021, https://www.governing.com/now/blacks-in-state-legislatures-a-state-by-state-map.html . Does not include Nebraska which has a unicameral legislature with just two black members.				

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**TABLE 9
BLACK REPRESENTATION IN THE ILLINOIS STATE SENATE, COMPARED TO
NATIONAL REPRESENTATION**

ILLINOIS DATA				
BLACKS IN STATE SENATE	TOTAL MEMBERS	BLACK %	BLACK CVAP %	DIFFERENCE
12	59	20.3%	15.0%	+5.3 PERCENTAGE PTS
NATIONAL DATA				
BLACKS IN STATE SENATES	TOTAL MEMBERS	BLACK %	BLACK CVAP %	DIFFERENCE
184	1,942	9.5%	12.9%	-3.4 PERCENTAGE POINTS
Source: Carl Smith, "Blacks in State Legislatures," <i>Governing</i> , 13 January 2021, https://www.governing.com/now/blacks-in-state-legislatures-a-state-by-state-map.html . Does not include Nebraska which has a unicameral legislature with just two black members.				

TABLE 10
HISPANIC REPRESENTATION IN THE ILLINOIS STATE HOUSE, COMPARED TO
NATIONAL REPRESENTATION

ILLINOIS DATA				
HISPANICS IN STATE HOUSE	TOTAL MEMBERS	HISPANIC %	HISPANIC CVAP %	DIFFERENCE
10	118	8.5%	11.2%	-2.7 PERCENTAGE PTS
NATIONAL DATA				
HISPANICS IN STATE HOUSES	TOTAL MEMBERS	HISPANIC %	HISPANIC CVAP %	DIFFERENCE
272	5,411	5.0%	12.4%	-7.4 PERCENTAGE POINTS
Source: Carl Smith, "Hispanics in State Legislatures: A State-By State Map," <i>Governing</i> , 21 January 2021, https://www.governing.com/now/hispanics-in-state-legislatures-a-state-by-state-map.html . Does not include Nebraska which has a 49-member unicameral legislature with just two Hispanic members.				

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**TABLE 11
HISPANIC REPRESENTATION IN THE ILLINOIS STATE SENATE, COMPARED TO
NATIONAL REPRESENTATION**

ILLINOIS DATA				
HISPANICS IN STATE SENATE	TOTAL MEMBERS	HISPANIC %	HISPANIC CVAP %	DIFFERENCE
6	59	10.2%	11.2%	-1.0 PERCENTAGE PTS
NATIONAL DATA				
HISPANICS IN STATE SENATES	TOTAL MEMBERS	HISPANIC %	HISPANIC CVAP %	DIFFERENCE
98	1,942	5.0%	12.4%	-7.4 PERCENTAGE POINTS
Source: Carl Smith, "Hispanics in State Legislatures: A State-By State Map," <i>Governing</i> , 21 January 2021, https://www.governing.com/now/hispanics-in-state-legislatures-a-state-by-state-map.html . Does not include Nebraska which has a 49-member unicameral legislature with just two Hispanic members.				

Illinois assembly members (out of a total of 118). That amounts to 10% and 6.8% representation of Latinos in the state legislature.” The correct number of Hispanic State House members is 10, not 8, and the correct percentage is 8.5%, not 6.8%.

Unable to deny the data on minority electoral success, plaintiffs try to explain it away by noting that 9 of 16 elected Hispanic state legislators were initially appointed to their positions. It does not explain how nonincumbent minority candidates, like Tammy Duckworth, are able to win statewide. It does not explain how minorities are able to win in Cook County or Chicago, as non-incumbents, in jurisdictions with single-race CVAP far below 50%. Of course, that does not explain how black legislators achieved super-proportionality. It does not explain the many defeats suffered by incumbents as outlined above, or the wide margins of victory achieved by appointed incumbents. It does not explain the victories of non-incumbents, including for example, Cristina Castro who won election in a 27.9% Hispanic CVAP district. Despite vaguely referring to an incumbency advantage, neither Dr. Grumbach or any other expert quantify the advantage for Illinois or explain why it should apply to appointed incumbents who have not stood the test of election or developed long-term relationships with their constituents or may not even be known to their constituents.

The bottom line is that the commitment of the Democratic caucus to appointing minority incumbents to state legislative officials is a benefit for minorities. It shows the commitment of the Democratic caucus advance minority political empowerment. Since the 2020 elections, the caucus has appointed additional minority legislatures. The Democrats appointed Doris Turner to State Senate District 48 to fill the seat of retiring white Senator Andy Manar. She becomes the first Black Senator to represent Central Illinois. The Democratic appointed Mike Simmons to State Senate District 7 to fill the seat of retiring white Senator Heather Steans. He becomes

the first Black Senator to represent the city's north side.⁸⁶ Under HB 927, SD 48 is 15.6% Black and SD 7 is 14.2 % Black. If through appointment, the Democratic caucus helps these Senators win the next election, it advances not sets back minority empowerment in the state. The Republicans have yet to appoint a minority to a state legislative position in recent years. After the 2020 election it appointed a new white Senator Sally Turner to SD 44.

Factor 8: Whether there is a significant lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized needs of the members of the minority group.

This factor is not analyzed by any plaintiffs' expert report or examined in any plaintiffs' submission. As a result, I will just cite a few highlights on issues of particular concern to minorities in Illinois.

* Voting Rights: I have already discussed in other contexts the many initiatives that have made Illinois a national leader in access to the ballot.

* Medicare Expansion: Illinois was one of the first states to expand Medicaid in the state, in January 2014. The program has since provided medical care for more than an additional 600,000 residents and is particularly beneficial for low-income minorities.⁸⁷ In 2021 the General Assembly expanded Medicaid coverage for mothers to 12 months rather than the preexisting two months. Government.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Brenden Moore, "Watch Now, Illinois has 3 New Senators in the Past 3 Weeks, Highlighting Unique Appointment Process," The Pantagraph, 24 February 2021, https://pantagraph.com/news/state-and-regional/govt-and-politics/watch-now-illinois-has-3-new-state-senators-within-past-three-weeks-highlighting-unique-appointment/article_21815ab2-63cc-5a53-a325-9b31a7a92aa4.html.

⁸⁷ Louise Norris, "Illinois and the ACA Medicaid Expansion," HealthInsurance.org, 20 September 2020, <https://www.healthinsurance.org/medicaid/illinois/>.

⁸⁸ Ramon Troncoso, "Postpartum Coverage Extended From 60 Days to 12 Months," *Capitol News*, 13 April 2021, <https://www.capitolnewsillinois.com/NEWS/illinois-expands-medicaid-coverage-for-mothers>

* Housing Programs: Illinois enacted a series of laws in 2021 to expand the availability of affordable housing in the state. Housing Action Illinois hailed these measures as “Key Wins for Affordable Housing.”

* Education: In 2021 the General Assembly adopted a series of initiatives on education. It updated the curriculum in a way that made it more responsive to minorities, including becoming the first state to mandate the teaching of Asian-American history. It created a State Education Equity Committee to ensure equity in education for from early childhood through grade 12. It authorized high schools to teach about the process of naturalization for foreign residents. It created a new standard assessment for children entering kindergarten. The law contains provisions designed to expand the number of Black teachers and upgrades the teaching of Black history.⁸⁹

* Immigration: In 2021 the General Assembly adopted legislation that made Illinois only the second state in the nation to end partnerships with Immigration and Customs Enforcement. New law also dealt with hate crimes against immigrants, expand workplace protections for immigrants under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, and created a task force to ensure that state policies and practices served the immigrant and created a Task Force to help ensure that state programs and policies serve immigrant residents.⁹⁰

Dr. Fowler speculates without evidence in his report that somewhat the appointment of General Assembly members might make them less responsive to constituent needs. Yet, as demonstrated in the discussion of Factor 1, the real divide on minority interests is not among Democrats, whether appointed to not, but between Democrats and Republicans. The Republicans

⁸⁹ “2021 Legislative Update Summary of Changes in School Law,” *JDSUPRA*, 5 October 2021, <https://www.jdsupra.com/legalnews/2021-legislative-update-summary-of-2406907/>.

⁹⁰ “Pritzker Signs Immigration Protection Bills, *Daily Herald*, 3 August 2021, <https://www.dailyherald.com/news/20210802/pritzker-signs-immigrant-protection-bills>.

in the General Assembly also voted along party lines against Medicaid expansion⁹¹ and against the immigration reform that would end partnerships with ICE.⁹²

Minority interest group ratings are not available for state legislators, but ratings are available for the Illinois congressional delegation as a gauge of Democratic and Republican responsiveness to the interests of minorities. Table 12 reports NAACP Civil Rights Federal Legislative Report Card scores for Republican and Democratic members of the Illinois congressional delegation. The scores are 2017-2018, before the pandemic. The scores are based on 32 bills responsive to the particular needs of minorities. The differences between the two parties are striking. No Democrat scores lower than 84% on the scorecard and no Republican scores higher than 28%. The mean score for Democrats is 92%, compared to 18% for Republicans.

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⁹¹ Illinois General Assembly, Bill Status of SB0066, 2013.
<https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/BillStatus.asp?DocNum=26&GAID=12&DocTypeID=SB&SessionID=85&GA=98>

⁹² Illinois General Assembly, Voting History of SB0665,
<https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/votehistory.asp?GA=102&DocNum=667&DocTypeID=SB&GAID=16&LegID=133273&SessionID=110>.

TABLE 12
NAACP CIVIL RIGHTS FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE REPORT CARD SCORES, U.S.
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, REPUBLICAN & DEMOCRATS, ILLINOIS, 2017-
2018

REPUBLICAN MEMBER	NAACP SCORE	DEMOCRATIC MEMBER	NAACP SCORE
Peter Roskam	28%	Bobby Rush	84%
Mike Bost	22%	Robin Kelly	100%
Rodney Davis	19%	Daniel Lapinski	84%
Randy Hultgren	9%	Luis V. Guterrez	88%
John Shimkus	16%	Mike Quigley	94%
Adam Kinzinger	16%	Danny K. Davis	88%
Darin LaHood	13%	Raja Krishnamoorthi	97%
		Jan Schakowsky	100%
		Bill Schneider	91%
		Bill Foster	91%
		Cheri Bustos	94%
MEAN REPUBLICAN	18%	MEAN DEMOCRATIC	92%

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Factor 9: Whether the policy underlying the state or political subdivision's use of such voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure is tenuous.

None of these cited measures are implicated in the enactment of the redistricting bill SB 927. The rationale for this bill is not tenuous. Soon after the federal government issued official U.S. Census population counts, the General Assembly amended earlier legislation to conform with the constitutional requirements for the apportionment of state legislative districts. There is no dispute among experts that SB 927 created districts that are well within the deviations required for state legislative plans.

Conclusions

No expert for plaintiffs provides a full assessment of the totality of circumstances in Illinois. They present data piecemeal and largely rely on outdated and irrelevant material. My analysis shows that the only Senate Factor that applies in Illinois is Senate Factor 5, which would apply to any state. However, plaintiffs do not link socio-economic disparities or differences in turnout to discrimination by the state of Illinois, which has facilitated access to voting and registration, especially for low-income minorities. In sum, the assessment of the nine Senate Factors validates Dr. Grumbach's finding that the totality of circumstances on democratic access are highly favorable in Illinois, especially when compared to Republican controlled states.

SECTION 4: PLAINTIFFS CHALLENGES AND REMEDIES

I. Summary of Opinions

- 1) Among the plaintiffs, only a brief analysis by Dr. Jowei Chen attempts to demonstrate that challenged Hispanic districts fail to provide Hispanic voters an equal opportunity with whites to elect candidates of their choice.
- 2) Dr. Chen's analysis omits several challenged districts.

- 3) Dr. Chen's analysis rests on a single, unrepresentative and misleading exogenous election and on a deeply flawed methodology. It fails to provide reliable results.
- 4) Dr. Loren Collingwood's analysis of the one challenged black opportunity district, HD 114, proves that it provides black voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice.
- 5) Plaintiffs' proposals target twelve minority incumbents, most of whom hold leadership positions within the General Assembly.
- 6) District-specific analysis of each challenged House and Senate district further demonstrates plaintiffs' claims' flaws and omissions.
- 7) The proposed remedial plan by the McConchie plaintiffs, who challenge the most districts, shreds the cores of their existing districts and pairs incumbent legislators in the same district, including a four-candidate pairing with three minorities and one white incumbent.
- 8) The summation of plaintiffs' remedies indicates that either both fail to advance minority empowerment in Illinois or are detrimental to such empowerment.

I. Plaintiffs Analysis of Challenged Hispanic Districts in Incomplete and Deeply Flawed.

Except for House District 114, plaintiffs challenge the new SB 927 districts for an alleged deficiency of Hispanic CVAP. The only district-specific proof provided for this claim is provided in a single table by Dr. Chen (Table 10 of his declaration, p.6 on page 46), which attempts to project onto challenged districts the vote for losing candidate Joseph Berrios in the 2018 Democratic primary for Cook County Assessor. That Table is reproduced below as Compilation 1. As indicated in Compilation 1, the analysis is incomplete. As shown in Table 1, it

omits four Hispanic districts challenged by plaintiffs under SB 927: Senate Districts 2 and 11 (prior 12) and House Districts 50 and 77. As a result, plaintiffs have presented no analysis demonstrating that these districts fail to provide Hispanic voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. All of these districts have a Hispanic CVAP percentage that is well within the range of districts that have nearly always elected Hispanic candidates or Hispanic candidates of choice. Two of these districts have Hispanic CVAP percentages above the 46.7% McConchie remedial district in Aurora.

Beyond omissions, Dr. Chen's analysis exhibits many serious flaws. The analysis is so severely flawed that it cannot be relied on to assess Hispanic voting opportunities in any challenged districts. As a result of these omissions and problems with Dr. Chen's analysis, plaintiffs have no reliable basis for claiming that any challenged district fails to provide Hispanic voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates. Moreover, the analysis of the one challenged black district, HD 114, by Dr. Collingwood, shows that this district provides black voters more than an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice.

There are several fatal flaws in Dr. Chen's analysis. Despite efforts by plaintiffs to discount elections with incumbents, Dr. Chen has chosen for his one probative election for projections to challenged districts the 2018 County Assessor primary contest with losing incumbent Joseph Berrios. He attempts to project the vote for the badly beaten Berrios, who garnered just 33.9% of the vote in a three-candidate election, onto some of the challenged districts. Berrios trailed the two other candidates by 32.2 percentage points and winning candidate Frederick Kaegi by 11.7 percentage. The analysis below demonstrates why this is a poor choice of an election and examines other flaws in Dr. Chen's work.

TABLE 1
SB 927 HISPANIC DISTRICTS CHALLENGED BY PLAINTIFFS, OMITTED IN DR. CHEN'S ANALYSIS

SB 927 CHALLENGED DISRICTS OMITTED BY DR. CHEN	
DISTRICT	HISPANIC CVAP %
SENATE DISTRICT 2	46.9%
SENATE DISTRICT 11	47.8%
HOUSE DISTRICT 50	36.7%
HOUSE DISTRICT 77	43.6%

A critical problem is that the non-Hispanic vote for Berrios is well less than is usual for Hispanic candidates of choice. Dr. Grumbach estimates through his ecological inference (EI) analysis that Berrios garnered 30.4% of the non-Hispanic vote. Dr. Chen estimates through his EI analysis that Berrios garnered 18.3% of the white vote and 44.4% of the “others” vote, which closely corresponds to Grumbach’s finding. Both experts report small confidence intervals for these estimates in the large Cook County. However, Dr. Grumbach concluded from his “meta” analysis that average Latino candidates in endogenous state legislative elections garnered 37.5% of the non-Latino vote (p. 12). This percentage is an underestimate given the corrections for Dr. Grumbach’s analyses explained above. Regardless, given that Dr. Chen’s projections turn on a few percentage points, even a differential of about seven percentage points would render the projections misleading.

In addition, Berrios garnered a less than usual degree of support from Hispanic voters. Dr. Grumbach estimated that Hispanic candidates garner 68.7% of the Hispanic vote on average in state legislative elections. However, he estimated that Berrios garnered only 53.95% of the Hispanic vote for a differential of 14.8 percentage points. Again, demonstrating the instability of EI estimates, Dr. Chen estimates that Berrios received 63.2% of the Hispanic vote, for a differential of 5.5 percentage points. Both experts again report small confidence intervals. Whether the differential is 14.8 or 5.5 percentage points, it would still make any projection of the Berrios vote misleading.

The Assessor primary was not a two-candidate race between Joseph Berrios and Frederick Kaegi, as Chen portrays it. It was a three-candidate race that also included Andrea A. Raila who garnered 20.5% of the vote. It is unknown how the election would have played out if

it was just between Berrios and Kaegi. According to Dr. Grumbach's estimates, Raila garnered considerable Hispanic support, 20.9% of the Hispanic vote and 20.5% of the non-Hispanic vote.

The Assessor primary was also atypical in that it was marked by a scandal implicating Berrios, according to a January report in ProPublica, before the primary. The scandal involved campaign contributions to Berrios by wealthy moguls who received tax breaks that shifted the property tax burdens to less affluent residents like low-income Hispanics. Jesus "Chuy" Garcia, a foremost Hispanic leader in Cook County, denounced what he viewed as Berrios' corruption. "These contributions look bad," Garcia said. "They appear to the average person as pay-to-play activity." Garcia added, "Joe Berrios always seems to be fighting our ethics agencies in Cook County, and it's taxpayers who end up paying the expensive legal bills." In the same year as the Assessor primary, Garcia won election to Congressional District 4, Cook County's Hispanic opportunity congressional district. He ran unopposed in the Democratic primary and swept the general election with 84.1%.⁹³

According to ProPublica, "Cook County Assessor Joseph Berrios is facing \$41,000 in fines for failing to return campaign contributions from property tax appeals lawyers whose donations exceeded legal limits, according to a pair of new rulings by the county ethics board." The report said that "The fines add to the controversy surrounding Berrios, who is heading into a March primary as he bids for a third four-year term as assessor." It noted that as the incumbent successor "Berrios has been under fire for inaccurate assessments that favor the wealthy over the poor." Further, "Federal court monitors also have criticized Berrios for being too slow to erase politics from hiring and other employment decisions as required under the anti-patronage Shakman decree. In rulings released late Monday, the ethics board listed 30 examples of property

⁹³ Ray Long and Jason Grotto, "Ethics Board Fines Cook County Assessor Campaign Contributions," ProPublica, 10 January 2018, <https://www.propublica.org/article/cook-county-assessor-joseph-berrios-ethics-violations-fines>.

tax attorneys or firms whose donations to Berrios' main political fund in late 2016 or early 2017 exceeded the \$750 limit.”

Among Berrios' contributions was \$5,000 from “Thomas Tully, a former Cook County assessor now with Thomas M. Tully & Associates ... The Tully law firm filed appeals on about \$2.9 billion in commercial and industrial value since Berrios took office, winning reductions on \$756 million.”⁹⁴

Per another story in the Chicago Tribune published just a few days before the Assessor primary, cites a study conducted by Professor Christopher Berry for the Municipal Finance Center at the University of Chicago's Harris School of Public Policy. The study found that “Under Berrios ... flawed assessments caused as much as \$1 billion to be shaved off the tax bills of Chicago's most expensive residential properties — those in the top 10 percent of value, or single-family homes and condos worth more than \$1 million on average.” This meant that “hundreds of thousands of other taxpayers made up the difference, with the lowest-valued homes shouldering a disproportionate amount of the tax shift.” Professor Berry said, “I wanted to know how much money is at stake. The answer is easily in the billions. These dollars are being taken from some of our citizens who can least afford it and used to pay the taxes of the wealthy. It's unconscionable.”⁹⁵

Dr. Chen does not demonstrate that his methodology is standard practice or that it has accurately predicted outcomes for minority preferred candidates in past elections. Further, his procedure for projecting the Assessor results to SB 927 districts and proposed remedial districts is fundamentally flawed. Dr. Chen uses EI to estimate the support for Berrios from Hispanic and

⁹⁴ *Id.*

⁹⁵ Jason Grotto, “Flawed Assessment Under Assessor Berrios Caused \$2 Billion Shift in Chicago Property Taxes, Study Finds, Chicago *Tribune*, 16 March 2018, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/investigations/ct-met-property-tax-shift-berrios-cook-county-20180314-story.html>.

white voters in these districts. He then applies uses these estimates to project the likely vote for a Hispanic candidate in each district. However, his estimates of the hypothetical Hispanic and white vote in each district are fraught with uncertainty. The uncertainty arises from the combination of instability in EI estimates, and the unreliability of the point estimates he uses to assess Berrios' support for these groups in small state legislative districts.

Dr. Chen reports his internal EI confidence intervals for all the endogenous state legislative elections included in his report's Table 6 referenced above (pp. 37-39). These intervals are often wide for the Latino vote, ranging 0.9 to 64.0 percentage points, with an average of 13.1 percentage points and a median of 7.8 percentage points, more than enough to render any projection unreliable. His confidence intervals for white voters in endogenous state legislative elections are tighter. Still, they range from 0.6 to 27.9 percentage points, for an average of 6.3 percentage points and a median of 4.5 percentage points. These errors are compounding in that Dr. Chen relies on EI estimates of both Hispanic and white voting for Berrios. Tellingly Dr. Chen reports his internal EI confidence intervals for every other estimate in his report, but not for his bottom-line estimates of Hispanic and white voting for Berrios in the SB 927 challenged districts and the proposed remedial districts.

In addition, Dr. Chen seems to have used voting age population (VAP), not CVAP, for his calculations. His projection tables include only VAP percentages in each district. However, estimates of voting patterns based on VAP are more uncertain than estimates based on CVAP because of non-citizens among Hispanics. The mathematician Moon Duchin and law professor Douglas Spencer warn that as compared to VAP, "CVAP is clearly the litigation standard when working with Hispanic VRA claims in particular." For example, House District 22 under SB 927 is 62.6% Hispanic VAP, but 52.6% Hispanic CVAP, for a differential of 10.2 percentage points.

But the differential is not consistent across districts. For example.,House District 39 under SB 927 is 51.6% Hispanic VAP and 45.6% Hispanic CVAP, for a decline of 6 percentage points.

Moreover, Dr. Chen does not provide in his declaration the basic information on whether he used precinct-level VAP or CVAP to derive his ecological inference estimates of voter behavior. If he used CVAP than the results do not apply to the VAP percentages in the compilation. If he used VAP, then he violated the litigation standard for Hispanics.

Another flaw in Dr. Chen's methodology is that he does not estimate the Berrios performance from a complete rendering of the vote for all groups in districts. Compilation 1 below reproduces the Chen analysis for the SB 927 districts as it appears in his Table 10. The compilation shows that it only includes for each district the Latino VAP and the White VAP percentages. It does not include for any district the percentages of other minorities: Blacks, Asians, and others. As indicated in Table 1, his VAP percentages do not add to 100%. The shortfall ranges from 4.6 to 32.7 percentage points, with an average of 13.0 percentage points and a median of 10.3 percentage points. This omission from Dr. Chen's Table is significant

COMPILATION 1
CHEN CALCULATIONS OF ESTIMATED SUPPORT FOR BERRIOS IN SB. 927,
CHEN DECLARATION TABLE 10, P. 46

District	Latino VAP:	Non-Latino White VAP:	Latino Support for Preferred Candidate (Berrios):	White Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate (Berrios):	Estimated Overall Vote Share of Latino-Preferred Candidate (Berrios):
1	76.1%	13.6%	75.4%	22.2%	62.0%
2	64.6%	29.1%	82.5%	26.3%	55.4%
3	54.1%	35.6%	73.8%	22.7%	45.5%
4	52.6%	30.3%	76.7%	18.8%	48.7%
19	27.3%	59.2%	79.0%	23.0%	37.9%
21	51.7%	37.7%	76.8%	25.2%	48.1%
22	62.8%	32.6%	83.2%	22.8%	61.5%
23	84.4%	4.5%	66.0%	35.7%	63.0%
24	48.5%	19.2%	67.0%	24.6%	49.3%
39	51.6%	38.6%	76.6%	20.3%	43.1%
40	42.8%	40.5%	72.2%	24.2%	43.0%

Note: The predicted “Support for Latino-Preferred Candidate” percentages in this table are calculated using the precinct-level EI analysis of the 2018 Cook County Assessor primary election between Joseph Berrios and Fritz Kaegi. Berrios was the Latino preferred candidate, and this table reports the predicted percentage of each group’s voters that are estimated to have supported Berrios within each district.

because, per his EI estimates, the support for Berrios from other minorities voters was 44.4%, nearly two and a half times greater than Berrios' support of 18.3% from white voters. Dr. Chen also computes his estimates for SB 927 and proposed districts from an incomplete accounting of the voting age populations in the districts. In Chen's Table 10 (see Compilation 1 above), he includes only Hispanics and whites, omitting all other minorities: Blacks, Asians, and others. As indicated in Table 2, his VAP percentages do not add to 100%. The shortfall ranges from 4.6 to 32.7 percentage points, with an average of 13.0 percentage points and a median of 10.3 percentage points. This omission for Dr. Chen's Table is significant because, per his EI estimates, the support for Berrios from other minorities voters was 44.4%, nearly two and a half times greater than Berrios' support of 18.3% from white voters.

Dr. Loren Collingwood applies an appropriate standard method for assessing Black voter opportunities in House District 114 (see below). This method is well-known as reconstituted election analysis. For an appropriate comparison election, the process examines the actual results of a minority versus white prior election that covers the precincts of a newly drawn district to assess its prospects for electing a minority candidate or another candidate of choice of minority voters. The methodology does not rely on unstable and uncertain ecological inference estimates in small state legislative districts, and it encompasses the voting of all groups within the district.

I have used this methodology successfully before, including in Illinois, where I testified in 2001 in defense of the black percentages of eleven districts that plaintiffs challenged for allegedly insufficient black voting age population. My analysis included House District 78, which had a black voting age population of 38.9%.⁹⁶ All the districts that I testified would provide

⁹⁶ *Campuzano v. Illinois State Board of Elections*, 200 F. Supp. 2d 905 (N.D. Ill. 2002), at 910, 912, fn. 10

TABLE 2
SHORTFALLS IN CHEN ACCOUNTING FOR CVAP IN DISTRICT CALCULATIONS
OF ESTIMATED SUPPORT FOR BERRIOS IN SB. 927, CHEN DECLARATION
TABLE 10, P. 46

District	Latino VAP	Non-Latino White VAP	Sum of Latino and Non-Latino White VAP	Difference from 100%
1	76.1%	13.6%	89.7%	-10.3 Percentage Points
2	64.6%	29.1%	93.7%	-6.3 Percentage Points
3	54.1%	35.6%	89.7%	-10.3 Percentage Points
4	52.6%	30.3%	82.9%	-17.1 Percentage Points
19	27.3%	59.2%	86.5%	-13.5 Percentage Points
21	51.7%	37.7%	89.4%	-10.6 Percentage Points
22	62.8%	32.6%	95.4%	-4.6 Percentage Points
23	84.4%	4.5%	88.9%	-11.1 Percentage Points
24	48.5%	19.2%	67.7%	-32.7 Percentage Points
39	51.6%	38.6%	90.2%	-9.8 Percentage Points
40	42.8%	40.5%	83.3%	-16.7 Percentage Points

Black voters the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice, actually performed as predicted. That success included HD 78 in which Black candidate Deborah L. Graham prevailed with 80.4% of the general election vote. Graham continued to hold that seat through the 2008 election. when Graham stepped down for the 2010 election, Black candidate Camille Lilly won the seat and has held it since.

II. Plaintiffs' Target Minority Incumbents

Despite plaintiffs' insistence on the importance of electing minorities to the Illinois General Assembly, their remedial plans target districts with minority incumbents who voted for SB 927. As indicated in Table 3, plaintiffs have targeted the districts of twelve minority incumbents, all of whom voted for SB 927. These incumbents have seniority and influence within the General Assembly and most hold leadership positions. Moreover, five of these incumbents are paired with other minority incumbents as explained below.

In my four decades of experience with voting rights litigation, I am unaware of any other plaintiffs at any time in any state that targeted this many minority incumbents who voted for the redistricting legislation under challenge. I have not seen plaintiffs pair so many minority incumbents. Moreover, except for the newly elected incumbents, the other targeted minority incumbents or candidates of choice hold leadership positions within the General Assembly. Notably, plaintiffs have targeted the districts of the Chair of the Senate Redistricting Committee, two Assistant Majority House Leaders, the House Conference Committee Chair, the Majority Conference Chair, the Chair of the Illinois Legislative Black Caucus, and the Chairs of the Health Care Licenses and State Government Committees.

TABLE 3
DISTRICTS WITH MINORITY INCUMBENTS OR MINORITY CANDIDATES OF CHOICE WHO VOTED FOR S.B. 927 TARGETED BY MALDEF OR MCCONCHIE PLAINTFFS

	DISTRICT	INCUMBENT	LEADERSHIP POSITIONS
1	HD 3	Eva Dino Delgado H*	First Elected 2020
2	HD 4	Delia Ramirez H*	Assistant Majority Leader
3	HD 6	Sonya M. Harper B	Joint Caucus Chair, Illinois Legislative Black Caucus
4	HD 23	Edgar Gonzalez Jr. H	First Elected 2020
5	HD 24 (Prior 2)	Theresa Mah A	Chair, Health Care Licenses Committee
6	HD 31	Mary Flowers B*	Deputy House Majority Leader
7	HD 32	Cyril Nichols B*	First Elected 2020
8	HD 40	Jaime Andrade Jr. H*	Asst. Majority Leader
9	HD 50 (Prior 83)	Barbara Hernandez H	First Elected 2020
10	HD 114	Latoya Greenwood B	Majority Conference Chair
11	SD 2	Omar Aquino H*	Chair, Redistricting Committee
12	SD 11 (Prior 12)	Steven Landek W*	Chair, State Government Committee
13	HD 8	La Shawn Ford	Chair, Appropriations-Higher Education
14	SD 5	Patricia Van Pelt B	Chair, Healthcare Access and Availability
15	SD 4	Kimberly Lightford B	Majority Leader
16	SD 57	Christopher Belt B	Chair, Education Committee
17	SD 25	Karina Villa H	First Elected in 2022
18	SD 14	Emil Jones III B	Deputy Majority Leader

19	SD 12 (Prior 11)	Celina Villanueva H	Chair, Human Rights Committee
20	SD 20	Cristina Pacione-Zayas H*	First Appointed in 2020
21	SD 16	Jacqueline Collins B	Assistant Majority Leader
22	SD 1	Antonio Munoz H	Assistant Majority Leader
* Paired with minority incumbents.			

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IV. Analysis of Individual SB 927 Districts Challenged by Plaintiffs

Before analyzing individual districts, I would first note that plaintiffs cannot agree on which districts are probative to challenge in their briefs as alleged violations of the Voting Rights Act. As shown in Table 4, only the McConchie plaintiffs challenge House Districts 50 and 77 and redraw Black districts 6 and 32. Only the Contreras plaintiffs challenge Senate Districts 2 and 11. The NAACP and McConchie plaintiffs challenge House District 114. I will consider in turn Northside Cook County, Southside Cook County, Aurora, and East St. Louis.

Northside Cook County Districts: 3, 4, 39, 77

The McConchie brief calls House Districts 3 and 4 “influence districts.” They are not. The CVAP for each of these districts is more than fifteen percentage points or more above the maximum 30% minority CVAP that MALDEF defines for an “influence district.” House District 3 under SB 927 is 47.4% Hispanic CVAP and House District 4 is 45.2% Hispanic CVAP. These districts are well above the Hispanic CVAP percentages in districts that have overwhelmingly elected Hispanic candidates or Hispanic preferred candidates. Both districts have Hispanic incumbents – Eva Dino Delgado in HD 3 and Delia C. Ramirez in HD 4 and the districts have elected Hispanics for more than twenty years. Hispanics have won election in HD 4 in every election during the five post-2010 election cycles. Yet the district was just 37.4% Hispanic in its CVAP, well below the Hispanic CVAP percentages of HD 3 and HD 4 under SB 927.

The Contreras plaintiffs propose raising HD 3 by 4.1 percentage points to just 51.5% Hispanic CVAP and HD 4 by 4.9 points to 50.1% above the 50%+ mark by the barest possible margin. The McConchie plaintiffs propose raising HD 3 by 2.6 percentage points to just 5.04% Hispanic CVAP.

TABLE 4
CHALLENGED DISTRICTS BY MCONCHIE ANDF MALDEF PLAINTIFFS
RELATIVE TO HISPANIC VOTER OPPORTUNITIES

COUNT	DISTRICT	CHALLENGED BY MCCONCHIE PLAINTIFFS	CHALLENGED BY CONTRERAS PLAINTIFFS
1	HD 3	YES	YES
2	HD 4	YES	YES
3	HD 6	YES	NO
4	HD 21	YES	YES
5	HD 23*	YES	NO
6	HD 24 (PRIOR 2)	YES	YES
7	HD 32	YES	NO
8	HD 39	YES	YES
9	HD 50	YES	NO
10	SD 2	NO	YES
11	SD 11 (PRIOR 12)	NO	YES
* Challenged to reduce the Hispanic percentage.			

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Hispanic CVAP, also barely above the 50%+ CVAP mark and HD 4 by six points to 51.4%. Plaintiffs implausibly claim that by pushing these districts just above the 50%+ Hispanic CVAP mark they will transform the districts from misidentified “influence districts” to equal opportunity districts. They have offered no proof that they are not equal opportunity districts other than Dr. Chen’s failed analysis, which is at odds with the track record of the districts in electing Hispanic candidates. Chen’s reliance on VAP rather than CVAP exaggerates the differences between SB 927 districts and proposed districts. For example, plaintiffs raise HD 3 by only 2.6 points, but Chen’s VAP data shows a 6.1 point difference, from 54.1% to 60.2%. Only citizens of voting age are eligible to vote.

Consistent with the actual elections results in HD 3 and 4, applying the standard technique of reconstituted election analysis demonstrates that these districts provide Hispanic voters more than an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. There is a better election to use for this analysis than the unrepresentative and misleading 2018 Democratic primary election for Cook County assessor. For Chicago-based districts like HD 3 and 4, that election is the 2015 Chicago mayoral runoff election between Hispanic candidate Jesus “Chuy” Garcia and white candidate Rahm Emanuel. This election is one of only three exogenous elections that Dr. Chen analyzed in his declaration (Table 7, p. 40). It is one of the two exogenous elections that Dr. Chen included in his five-election sample. It is a two-candidate, not a three-candidate election, so no assumptions must be made about the impact of a third candidate.

According to Dr. Chen’s estimates, the white crossover vote for Garcia is much closer to the norm than the white crossover vote for Berrios. Dr. Chen estimates that the white crossover vote for Garcia was 28.8%, still low, but 10.5 percentage points higher than the minimal white

crossover vote of 18.3% that Dr. Chen estimates for Berrios. Within a tenth of a percentage point, the white crossover vote for Garcia equals the 28.7% average white crossover vote for the Hispanic candidates in the three exogenous elections that Dr. Chen chose for analysis. The use of this runoff election for a reconstituted election analysis does not bias the results. On the contrary, it poses a stern test given that Garcia lost the runoff by 12.4 percentage points, garnering 43.8% of the vote, compared to 56.2% for Emanuel.

The results of the reconstituted election analysis demonstrate robust results for both HD 3 and HD 4. As reported in Table 5 and Chart 1, in the precincts of new House District 3, Garcia garnered 57.4%. He prevailed by 14.7 percentage points, for a swing to Garcia of 27.1 percentage points as compared to the runoff results. In House District 4, as additionally shown in Table 20 and Chart 2, Garcia garnered a similar 57.1% of the vote within the precincts of HD 4. Garcia prevailed within the precincts of new House District 4 by 14.2 percentage points, for a swing to Garcia of 26.6 percentage points.

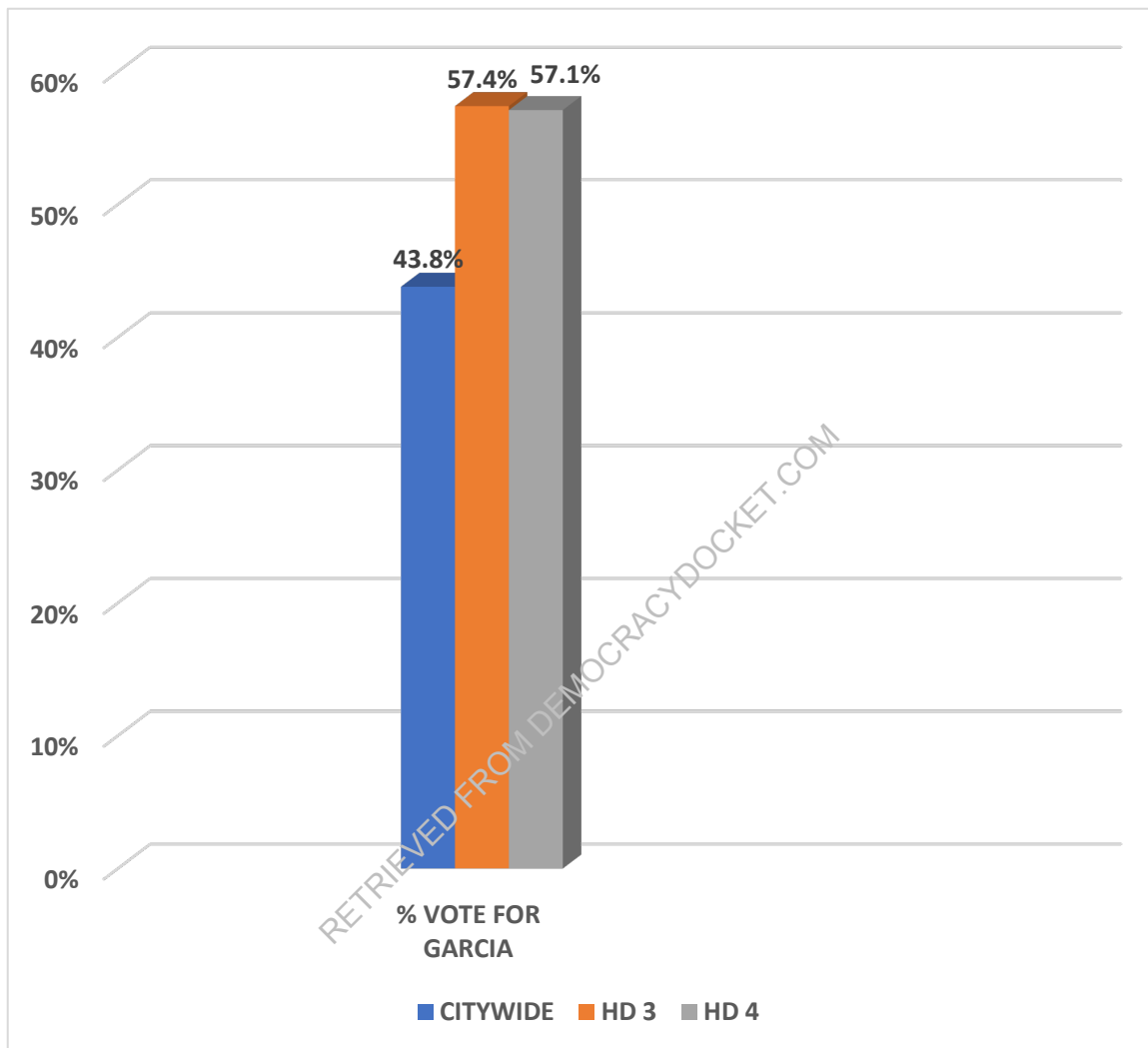
The MALDEF and McConchie plaintiffs also fail to provide a complete analysis of the demography of House Districts 3 and 4, reporting only the Hispanic percentages. A comprehensive analysis demonstrates that these are not districts controlled by whites. On the contrary, House Districts 3 and 4 are majority-minority districts, with minorities controlling most of the CVAP in each district. Minorities comprise 57.3% of the District 3's CVAP. Minorities comprise a higher 65.0% of the CVAP in District 4 because of a substantially higher Black CVAP percentage. These results indicate that minority candidates of choice of the predominant Hispanic citizens of voting age need not depend on white votes or can prevail with minimal white crossover voting.

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TABLE 5
RECONSTITUTED ELECTION, 2015 CHICAGO MAYOR RUNOFF IN PRECINCTS
OF HOUSE DISTRICTS 3 & 4 UNDER S.B. 927

ELECTION	% EMANUEL	% GARCIA	DIFFERENCE	SWING TO GARCIA
2015 MAYOR RUNOFF	56.2%	43.8%	GARCIA -12.4 PERCENTAGE PTS	NA
2015 MAYOR RECONSTITUTED HD 3, S.B. 927	42.7%	57.4%	GARCIA +14.7 PERCENTAGE PTS	+27.1 PERCENTAGE PTS
2015 MAYOR RECONSTITUTED HD 4, S.B. 927	42.9%	57.1%	GARCIA + 14.2 PERCENTAGE PTS	+26.6 PERCENTAGE PTS
In the precincts of new House District 3: Emanuel 10,428 votes, Garcia 14,054 votes. In the precincts of new House District 4: Emanuel 8,680 votes, Garcia 11,539 votes.				

CHART 1
RECONSTITUTED ELECTION, 2015 CHICAGO MAYOR RUNOFF IN PRECINCTS
OF HOUSE DISTRICTS 3 & 4 UNDER SB 927



House District 39

In challenging this district, plaintiffs again invoke the claim that it fails to provide Hispanic voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice because at 45.6% Hispanic CVAP it falls below their 50%+ threshold. Once again, this district is well within the range of Hispanic districts that provide such an opportunity. The McConchie plaintiffs proposal raised the CVAP percentage in this district by 4.6 percentage points from 45.6% Hispanic CVAP to 50.2% Hispanic CVAO, barely above the 50%+ CVAP threshold.

Hispanic candidate Toni Berrios defeated White Will Guzzardi in the 2012 Democratic primary in House District 39, indicating that this district does provide Hispanics an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. The election of white candidate Guzzardi in a 2014 rematch was not a consequence of a Hispanic CVAP percentage that fell slightly below plaintiffs' remedial district of 50.2%+ (48.6%). Plaintiffs fail to report Guzzardi's margin of victory. He defeated Berrios in 2014 by a landslide margin of 20.8 percentage points. He won 60.4% of the vote, compared to just 39.6% for Berrios. Even if that district was 65% Hispanic, Guzzardi would still have prevailed.

Plaintiffs highlight the importance of electing minorities to state legislative positions. But neither the plaintiffs' briefs nor any expert report reveals how the McConchie plaintiffs' reorganization of northern districts devastates the Hispanic incumbents in the region. As shown in Table 6, the McConchie plaintiffs propose to give Republicans a significant boost by pairing four Democratic incumbents in proposed HD 39, with 50.2% Hispanic CVAP. As shown in Table 6,

**TABLE 6
MCCONCHIE PAIRINGS IN PROPOSED HD 39, 50.2% HISPANIC CVAP**

INCUMBENT	PRIOR HD	NEW HD	INCUMBENT STATUS OF PRIOR HD UNDER PROPOSED PLAN
Eva Dino Delgado Hispanic	HD 3	HD 39	Open
Delia C. Ramirez Hispanic	HD 4	HD 39	Open
Jaime Andrade Jr. Hispanic	HD 40	HD 39	Open
Will Guzzardi	HD 39	HD 39	NA

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the McConchie plaintiffs paired white Democratic Will Guzzardi in proposed HD 39 with three Hispanic incumbents from other districts: Eva Dino Delgado from HD 3, Delia C. Ramirez from HD 4, and Jaime Andrade Jr. from HD 40. This extraordinary maneuver immediately wipes out at least two and perhaps three Hispanic incumbents. The pairing creates open seats in proposed HD 3, 4, and 40 that Hispanic incumbents previously occupied. Plaintiffs' do not target HD 40 under SB 927 for insufficient Hispanic concentration, even though its Hispanic CVAP is under 50%.

The quadruple pairing also dismantles the population core of these three Hispanic incumbents as shown in Table 7. As indicated in Table 7, based on the Republican submission, only 11.4% of the core of Delgado's prior district is included in her paired House District 39, by population. Only 22.9% of Andrade's prior district is included in his paired House District 39. The largest but still less than 50% core retention is for Ramirez's prior district at 45.9%. By contrast, in SB 927, Delgado remains in HD 4, which retains 62.0% of her prior district, 50.6 percentage points more than under McConchie. Ramirez remains in HD 4, which retains 61.0% of his prior district, 15.1 percentage points more than under McConchie, and Andrade remains in HD 40, which retains 72.7% of his prior core, 54.4 percentage points more than under McConchie.

Core retention is important for incumbents and their constituents who have built up relationships under a prior plan. MALDEF, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund

**TABLE 7
CORE POPULATION RETENTION FOR HISPANIC INCUMBENTS, PRIOR HD 3, 4, 40,
MCCONCHIE PLAN COMPARED TO SB 927**

HISPANIC INCUMBENT PRIOR HD	NEW HD MCCONCHIE	CORE RETAINED MCCONCHIE	NEW HD SB 927	CORE RETAINED SB 927	DIFFERENCE Sb 927- MCCONCHIE
DELGADO HD 3	HD 39	11.4%	HD 3	62.0%	+50.6 PERCENTAGE PTS
RAMIREZ HD 4	HD 39	45.9%	HD 4	61.0%	+15.1 PERCENTAGE PTS
ANDRADE HD 40	HD 39	22.9%	HD 39	77.3%	+54.4 PERCENTAGE PTS

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(LDF), and the Asian American Justice Center concluded in their “Guide to Redistricting” that “traditional redistricting principles ... may also include considerations deemed important at the local or state level including preserving cores of districts and respecting natural boundaries.”⁹⁷

The reconstituted 2015 Chicago mayor runoff shows robust results under SB 927 for House District 39, clearly revealing that it provides Hispanics more than an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. As reported in Table 8 and Chart 2, in the precincts of new House District 39, Garcia garnered 58.9%. He prevailed by 17.8 percentage points, for a swing to Garcia of 30.2 percentage points compared to the runoff results.

However, the McConchie proposal vitiates the effectiveness of HD 39 under SB 927. Their four-candidate pairing sets up a situation for Hispanic incumbents to fail. The three Hispanic incumbents placed in HD 39 by McConchie are all proven vote-getters with Hispanics. They would likely split the Hispanic vote and open a path to victory for white candidate Guzzardi.

House District 77

Again, despite claims by the McConchie plaintiffs, this district at 43.6% Hispanic CVAP is well within the districts that have overwhelmingly elected Hispanic candidates or Hispanic preferred candidates. The plaintiffs propose to raise its CVAP to 51.2%. HD 77 has a track record under its prior incarnation with a 46.4% Hispanic CVAP. In the 2014 Democratic primary, Kathleen Willis, the Hispanic preferred candidate, won overwhelmingly in HD 77 with a 74.1% majority.

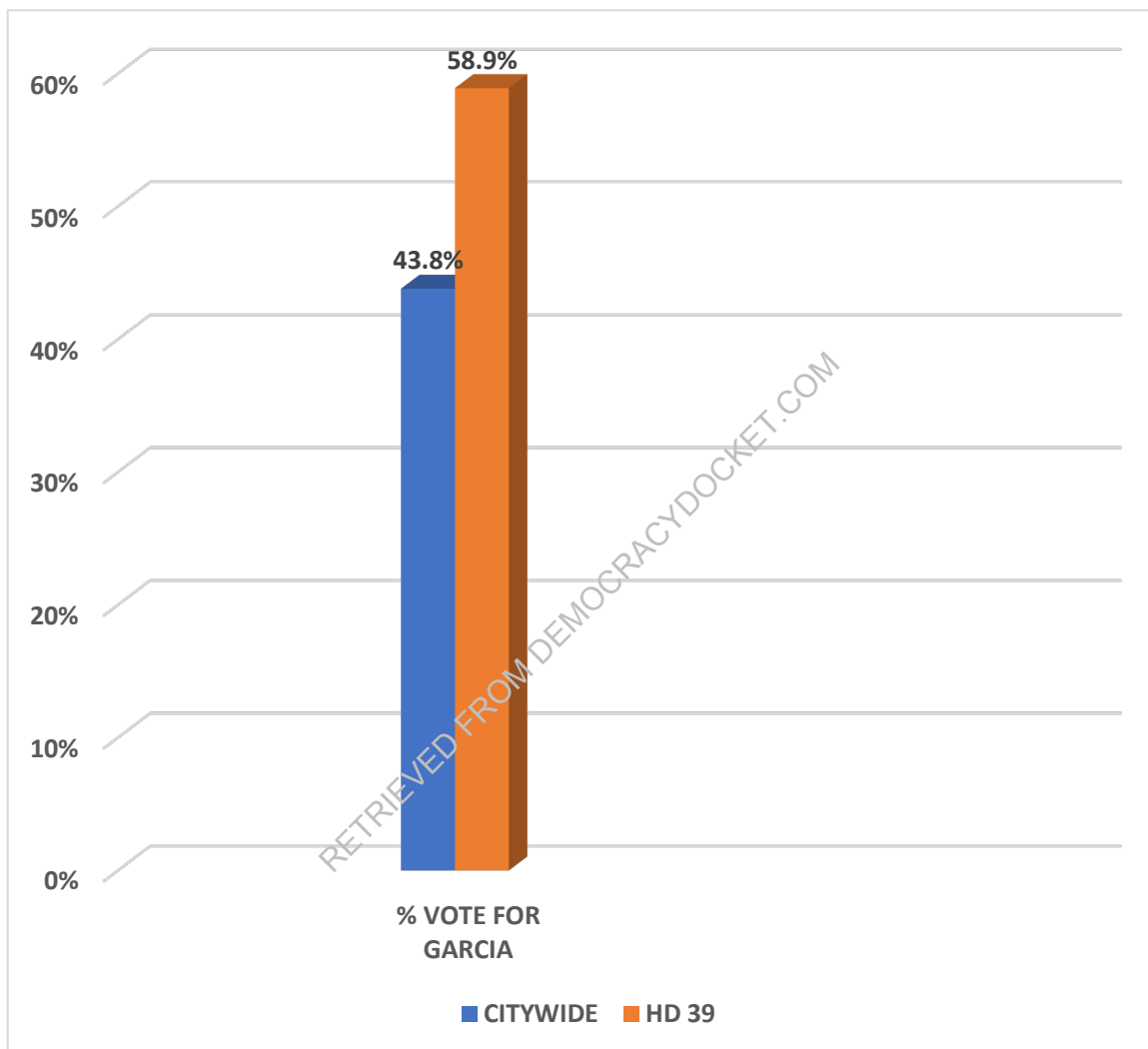
⁹⁷ MALDEF, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), and the Asian American Justice Center, “The Impact of Redistricting in Your Community: A Guide to Redistricting,” at 6, <https://www.maldef.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/redistricting.pdf>.

TABLE 8
RECONSTITUTED ELECTION, 2015 CHICAGO MAYOR RUNOFF IN PRECINCTS
OF HOUSE DISTRICT 39 UNDER SB 927

ELECTION	% EMANUEL	% GARCIA	DIFFERENCE	SWING TO GARCIA
2015 MAYOR RUNOFF	56.2%	43.8%	GARCIA -12.4 PERCENTAGE PTS	NA
2015 MAYOR RECONSTITUTED HD 3, S.B. 927	41.1%	58.9%	GARCIA +17.8 PERCENTAGE PTS	+30.2 PERCENTAGE PTS
In the precincts of new House District 39: Emanuel 9,519 votes, Garcia 13,602 votes.				

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CHART 2
RECONSTITUTED ELECTION, 2015 CHICAGO MAYOR RUNOFF IN PRECINCTS
OF HOUSE DISTRICT 39 UNDER SB 927



SB 927 maintains Willis is the same district. However, in the McConchie matrix this is now listed as an open seat and incumbent Willis is nowhere to be found on the matrix. Neither is Willis mentioned in the McConchie brief. The Contreras plaintiffs do not challenge this district. Their matrix lists Willis in a renumbered HD 79, with the same percentage for her district as in SB 927.

Southern Cook County

House District 21, Prior HD 23

The McConchie and Contreras plaintiffs contend that House District 21 (formerly House District 23) fails to provide Hispanic voters an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice because at 42.7% Hispanic CVAP it falls below their 50%+ Hispanic CVAP threshold. However, as noted for House Districts 3 and 4, House District 21 is well within the range of districts that provide Hispanic voters an equal opportunity with whites to elect candidates of their choice. The McConchie plaintiffs propose to raise the Hispanic CVAP percentage in Zalewski's new district to barely above the 50% mark: 50.5%, The Contreras plaintiffs propose to raise its Hispanic CVAP percentage to 53.2%. The district currently has a white incumbent, Michael L. Zalewski, who has served since 2009. The Contreras plaintiffs claim that SB 927 deliberately reduced the Hispanic CVAP in HD 23 (prior 21) to protect Zalewski.

However, the reduction was just 2.8 percentage points, from 45.5% to 42.7%, hardly enough to change the political fortunes of incumbent Zaleski. Moreover, Zalewski needed no such protection. Zalewski has never been challenged in a Democratic primary in the post-2010 election cycles, so there is no evidence that white bloc voting in prior House District 23 has ever defeated a candidate of choice of Hispanic. The district is not in Chicago, so there is no appropriate White v. Hispanic election to reconstitute in new House District 21.

Again, the MALDEF and McConchie plaintiffs also fail to provide a complete analysis of the demography of House District 21, reporting only the Hispanic percentage. A more thorough analysis demonstrates that this is not a district controlled by whites. House District 21 is majority-minority district, with minorities holding 53.3% of the CVAP.

In addition, as indicated in Table 9, the McConchie plan destroys the core of HD 21. As indicated in Table 6, the McConchie plan retains just 2.7% of prior HD 21 in Zalewski's new HD 21. SB 927 retains 45.2%, for a difference of 42.5 percentage points. Under the McConchie plan, the remainder of HD 21 is scattered among many districts with none retaining more than 26.3%

House District 24 (prior HD 2)

Plaintiffs make the same argument for new House District 24 (previously House District 2) as for House District 21. They claim that because it has a Hispanic CVAP of 43.7%, below their 50%+ threshold, it fails to provide Hispanic voters an equal opportunity with whites to elect candidates of their choice. Again, this district is well within the range of districts that provide Hispanic voters with such an opportunity. The district has one of the largest Asian CVAP percentages of any legislative district in the state at 23.6%, virtually unchanged from prior District 2. The district incumbent is Asian-American Theresa Mah, who was the Hispanic candidate of choice in the 2020 Democratic primary election (see Section 2) . Mah is one of four elected Asian Americans in the Illinois General Assembly. The McConchie proposal would increase Mah's district to 51.5% Hispanic CVAP. The Contreras plan would increase it to 51.1% Hispanic CVAP. The McConchie proposal would slash the Asian CVAP in Mah's new district by 56%, down to just 10.3% The Contreras proposal would still cut the Asian CVAP although less drastically to 20.1%.

**TABLE 9
CORE POPULATION RETENTION FOR PRIOR HD 21, MCCONCHIE PLAN
COMPARED TO SB 927**

INCUMBENT PRIOR HD	NEW HD MCCONCHIE	CORE RETAINED MCCONCHIE	NEW HD SB 927	CORE RETAINED SB 927	DIFFERENCE Sb 927- MCCONCHIE
ZALEWSKI HD 3	HD 21	2.7%	HD 21	45.2%	+42.5 PERCENTAGE PTS

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A reconstitution of the Emanuel v. Garcia 2015 mayoral runoff for this city District 24 demonstrates that it provides Hispanic voters more than an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. As indicated in Table 10 Chart 3, Garcia prevailed in SB 927 HD 24 by 21 percentage points, with 60.5% of the vote, for a swing of 33.4 percentage points when compared to Garcia's 12.4 percentage point loss citywide.

House District 6 and 32

The McConchie plaintiffs claim that Hispanics in House Districts 6 and 32 are being deprived of their rights and are having their voting power diluted because they live outside of effective majority-Latino House Districts but could live within a compact majority-Latino House District.” (p. 30) However, the McConchie plaintiffs fail to disclose that these are Black opportunity districts, even exceeding the plaintiffs' threshold of 50%+ Black CVAP. Under SB 927 House District 6 has a Black CVAP percentage of 58.1% and a Black incumbent, Sonya Harper. House District 32 has a Black CVAP percentage of 61.2% and a Black incumbent, Cyril Nichols.

The McConchie proposal would needlessly pack Blacks into HD 6, raising its Black CVAP by 13% to 65.8%. It would slightly reduce the Black CVAP percentage to 59.8%, (new HD 31) but would pair Nichols in his new district with another Black Democratic incumbent Mary Flowers from HD 31, with a 51.8% Hispanic CVAP under SB 927. The Contreras complaint does not challenge these districts. It would leave the Harper and Nichols districts unchanged in the Black CVAP percentage and create no pairings.

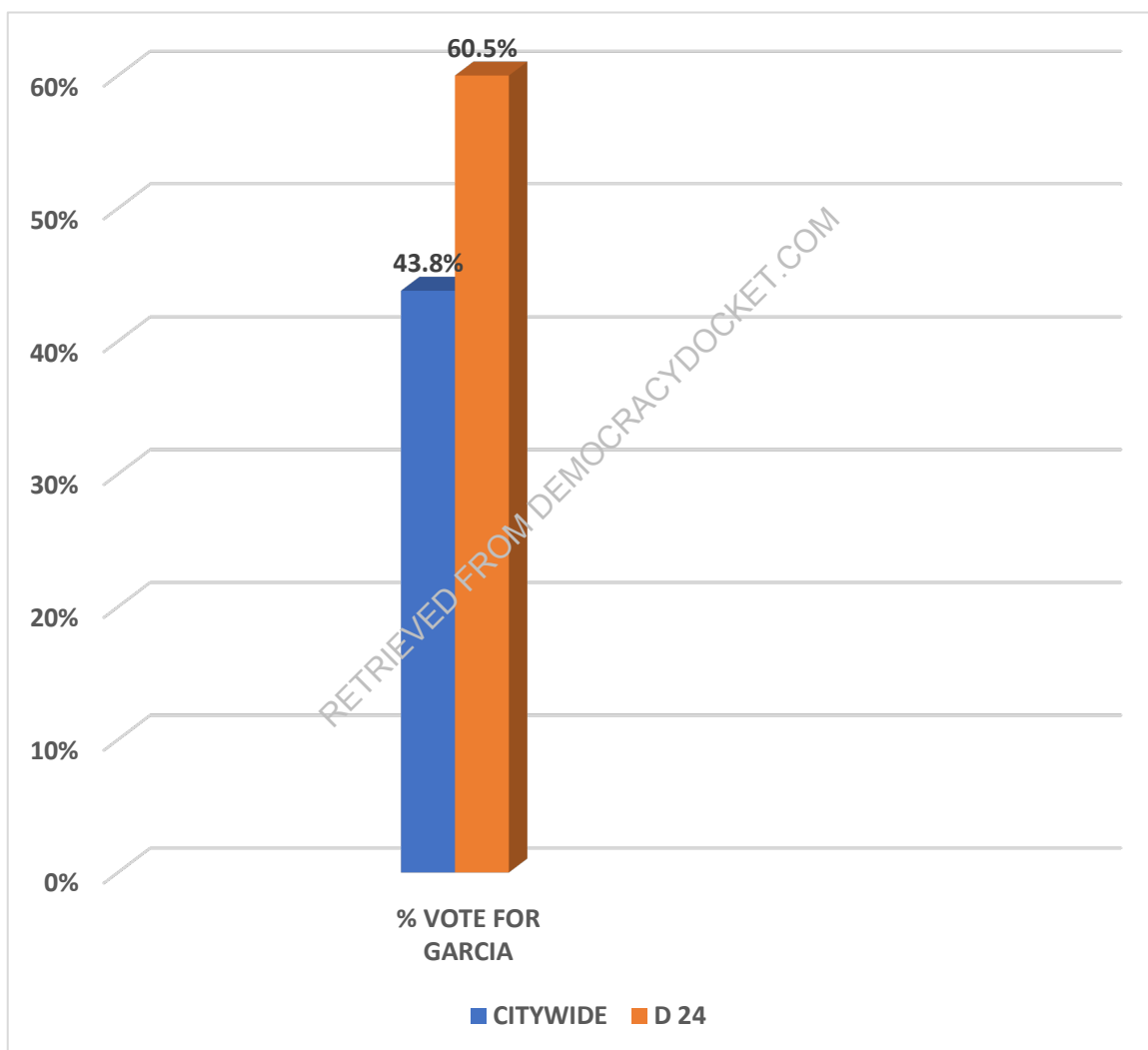
In its submission, the McConchie plaintiffs misrepresent the Black percentages in SB 927 districts, and their proposal in the Southern Cook County region. The submission switches to voting age population, not citizen voting age population, which is their basis for

TABLE 10
RECONSTITUTED ELECTION, 2015 CHICAGO MAYOR RUNOFF IN PRECINCTS
OF HOUSE DISTRICT 24 UNDER SB 927

ELECTION	% EMANUEL	% GARCIA	DIFFERENCE
2015 MAYOR	56.2%	43.8%	GARCIA -12.4 PERCENTAGE PTS
2015 MAYOR RECONSTITUTED NEW HOUSE DIST. 24	39.5%	60.5%	GARCIA +21.0 PERCENTAGE PTS
In the precincts of new House District 24: Emanuel 9,161 votes, Garcia 14,012 votes.			

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CHART 3
RECONSTITUTED ELECTION, 2015 CHICAGO MAYOR RUNOFF IN PRECINCTS
OF HOUSE DISTRICT 24 UNDER SB 927



evaluating districts. in the region of these districts. Their Table 2, page 30, of district Black percentages if listed below as Compilation 2, along with a correct table using CVAP.

The corrected version of Compilation 2 reveals facts that are concealed in plaintiffs’ VAP presentation. First, it discloses the packing of plaintiffs’ House District 6, which is 65.8% Black CVAP. Second, it shows that the Black districts under SB 927 are far more robustly Black than plaintiffs’ VAP presentation would indicate.

**COMPILATION 2
REPRODUCTION OF MCCONCHIE PLAINTIFFS TABLE 2, MCCONCHIE
SUBMISSION**

September Map		Plaintiffs’ Remedial Map	
House District	Black (Non-Hispanic) Voting Age Population	House District	Black (Non-Hispanic) Voting Age Population
6	45.4%	6	53.6%
8	49.5%	8	49.4%
31	51.9%	31	54.7%
32	50.5%	36	51.%

**CORRECTED COMPILATION 2
 REPRODUCTION OF MCCONCHIE PLAINTIFFS' TABLE 2,
 MCCONCHIE SUBMISSION, CORRECTED FOR CVAP, NOT VAP**

September Map		Plaintiffs' Remedial Map	
House District	Black (Non-Hispanic) CVAP	House District	Black (Non-Hispanic) CVAP
6	58.1%	6	65.8%
8	54.5%	8	54.2%
31	56.8%	31	59.8%
32	61.1%	36	54.3%

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**TABLE 11
CORE POPULATION RETAINED FOR PRIOR HD 22 IN HD 32, MCCONCHIE PLAN
AND IN HD 22 UNDER SB 927**

INCUMBENT PRIOR HD	NEW HD MCCONCHIE	CORE RETAINED MCCONCHIE	NEW HD SB 927	CORE RETAINED SB 927	DIFFERENCE Sb 927- MCCONCHIE
GUERRA- CUELLAR HD 22	HD 32	36.7%	HD 22	81.9%	+45.2 PERCENTAGE PTS

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House District 50

As explained in Section 1 of this report on plaintiffs' mechanical single-race 50% CVAP threshold, the McConchie plaintiffs remedy for this district is the exception that disproves the rule. All three plaintiffs maintain that districts must achieve this threshold to provide minorities equal opportunities for minorities to elect candidates of their choice. Yet, the McConchie plaintiffs propose and defend a remedial plan for HD 50 that is 46.7% Hispanic CVAP, well below their threshold and approximately equal to or less than the Hispanic CVAP percentages of several challenged districts. This 46.7% district, the McConchie plaintiffs assert in their brief, "would provide Latino voters an opportunity to elect candidates of their choice." (p. 3)

The Contreras plaintiffs do not challenge the district. The McConchie plaintiffs maintain incumbent Barbara Hernandez in the redrawn district, but destroy the core of her prior district, maintaining only 1.6% of that core population.

Senate District 2

This district is challenged only by the Contreras plaintiffs. They present no expert analysis to sustain their claim indicate that as constituted in SB 927 the district fails to provide that this district "had the effect of depriving Latino voters of an equal opportunity to elect representatives of choice" because its 46.67% Hispanic CVAP falls just below their 50%+ Hispanic CVAP threshold. As noted above, this percentage of Hispanic CVAP equals the remedial percentage HD 50 advanced by the McConchie plaintiffs. The incumbent in Contreras' redrawn SD 2 is Hispanic Senator Omar Aquino elected in a 2011 district with an equivalent 46.9% Hispanic CVAP.

Reconstituted election analysis confirms that Senate District 2 provides Hispanic voters an equal opportunity with whites to elect candidates of their choice. As indicated in Table 12 and Chart 4, Emanuel prevailed citywide by 12.4 percentage points. In contrast, Garcia prevailed

within the precincts of new House District 3 by 14.0 percentage points, for a swing of 26.4 percentage points. Senate District 2 also comprises a landslide majority of minority CVAP. SD 2 is a majority-minority district with minorities comprising 61.5% of its CVAP.

Senate District 11 (Prior 12)

The Contreras plaintiffs (the only plaintiff to challenge SD 11) allege that the state legislature reduced the Hispanic CVAP in this district from prior 54.5% to 47.8% in S.B. 927 (to protect White incumbent Democrat Steven Landek. (p. 20). Still, the new Hispanic CVAP is still well within the range of districts that provide Hispanics and equal opportunity with Whites to elect candidates of their choice. It is slightly greater than the Hispanic CVAP is the District 50 remedial plan that the McConchie plaintiffs claim will provide Hispanics such an opportunity.

Moreover, Landeck needed no protection. Plaintiffs presume without evidence that white incumbent, Steven Landek was not the candidate of choice of Hispanic voters. The presumption is false. Landek was challenged once in the decisive Democratic primary during the post-2010 election cycle in his Senate District 12. Landek prevailed against Latino candidate Raul Montes, Jr in a district that was 54.5% Latino in its citizen voting age population. This percentage is well above the 50% threshold the MALDEF and McConchie plaintiffs alleged that provides Hispanics the opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. Its Hispanic percentage is the second highest of any State Senate District during the post-2010 cycle. Yet, Landek prevailed overwhelmingly in the 2012 Democratic primary by 30 percentage points, with 66.5% of the vote, compared to 33.5% for Montes, Jr.

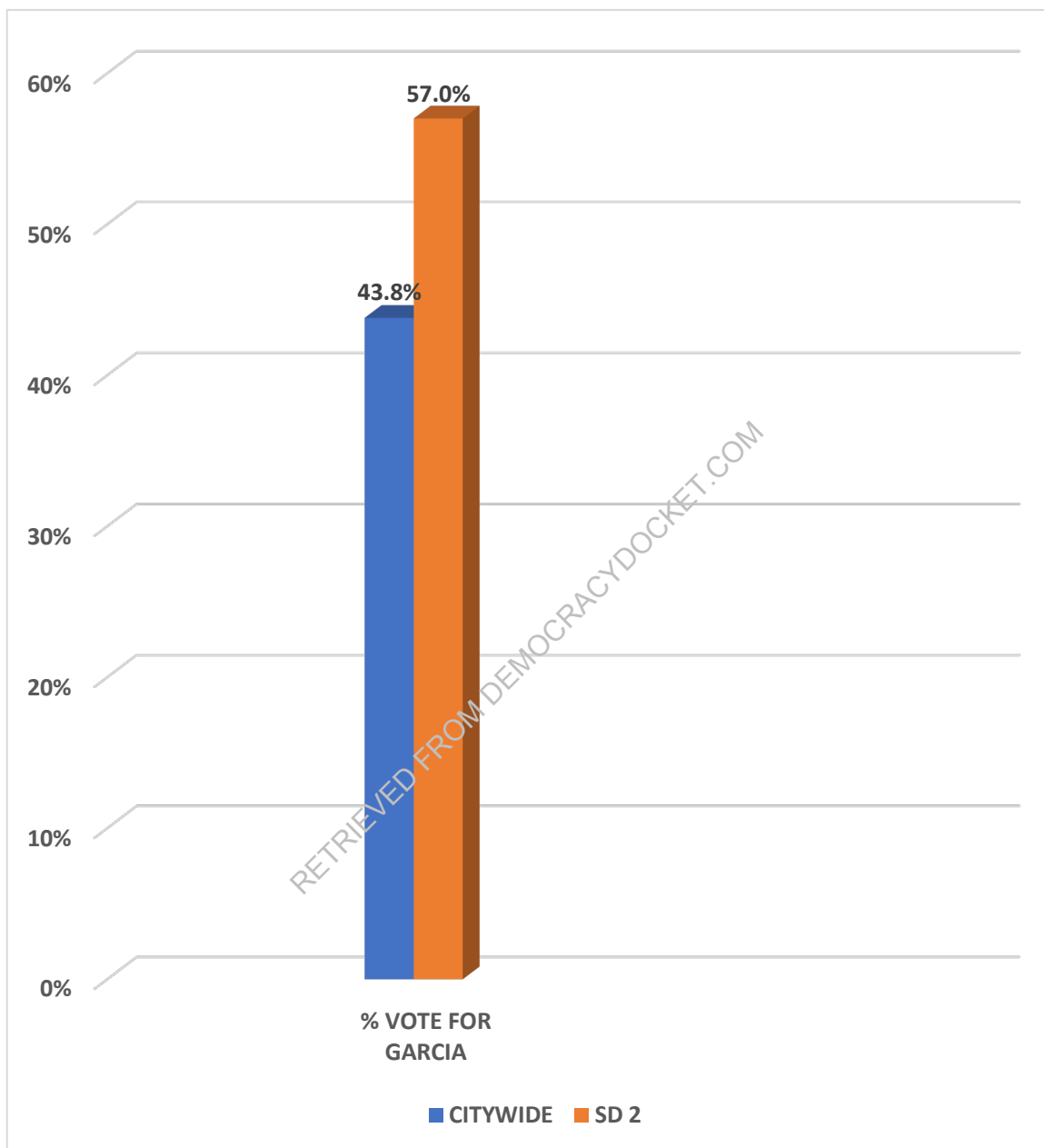
As indicated by the analysis in Section 1 on Gingles Prong 3, Dr. Grumbach's confirmed analysis of Senate District 12 (now 11) confirmed that Landek was a coalitional candidate who won a majority of both the Hispanic (57%) and non-Hispanic vote (82%). New Senate District 11 is also a majority-minority district, with minorities comprising 55.3% of the district's CVAP

TABLE 12
RECONSTITUTED ELECTION, 2015 CHICAGO MAYOR RUNOFF IN PRECINCTS
OF SENATE DISTRICT 2 UNDER S.B. 927

ELECTION	% EMANUEL	% GARCIA	DIFFERENCE
2015 MAYOR	56.2%	43.8%	EMANUEL +12.4 PERCENTAGE PTS
2015 MAYOR RECONSTITUTED NEW HOUSE DIST. 3	43.0%	57.0%	GARCIA +14.0 PERCENTAGE PTS

In new Senate District 2 Emanuel garnered 17, 075 votes and Garcia 22,589 votes.

CHART 4
RECONSTITUTED ELECTION, 2015 CHICAGO MAYOR RUNOFF IN PRECINCTS
OF SENATE DISTRICT 2 UNDER SB 927



House District 114

HD 114 is a Black opportunity district. Under SB 927 it has a Black CVAP percentage of 38%, comparable to House District 78 that was the subject of the Campuzano litigation and proved effective for Black voters. The current incumbent is Black representative Latoya Greenwood, and the district has elected black candidates since the 1970s. It is the only Black opportunity district challenged by any plaintiff, although as demonstrated in Compilations 1 and 2, the McConchie plaintiffs redraw several Black opportunity districts and pair Black incumbents Nichols and Flowers in the same district.

The McConchie and Contreras plaintiffs challenge HD 114 in the state's East St. Louis, St. Clair county region. Dr. Chen briefly addresses HD 114 in his report for the McConchie plaintiffs and Dr. Loren Collingwood for the NAACP plaintiffs provides the only detailed analysis of this district. The findings of both analyses prove that HD 114 under SB 927 continues to provide Black voters at least an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice.

Dr. Chen analyzes three prior elections in HD 114. His results show that there was white crossover voting sufficed to elect the Black candidate of choice, which was the Black candidate. These Black candidates, Dr. Chen found, all won by wide margins (p. 43):

- * The 2014 General Election in HD 114, Black Candidate Greenwood, 57.2%
- * The 2018 General Election in SD 57, Black Candidate Belt, 59.2%
- * The 2020 General Election in HD 114, Black Candidate Greenwood, 57.1%

With two corrections, the more detailed Collingwood report proves that, as drawn under SB 927, confirms that HD 114 provides Black voters at least an equal opportunity to elect candidates of their choice. Dr. Collingwood analyzes the results of seven elections in districts or jurisdictions primarily with a Black CVAP percentage below that of HD 114 under SB 927. With

one correction (she mistakenly showed white candidate Wilson not Black candidate Williams winning the 2020 general election for St. Clair County Board of Review), her results show that Black candidates won 6 of 7 elections that she chose as probative for assessing Black voter opportunities in HD 114.

Dr. Collingwood further uses reconstituted election analysis to indicate the results in HD 114 for three elections with Black and white candidates. Her results show that Black candidates prevailed in all three contests HD 114 under SB 927. She also speculates that the Black population of HD 114 may dwindle over time. However, the examination of CVAP population changes in St. Clair County since 2010 shows a slight increase in black relative to white CVAP. Dr. Collingwood claims HD 114 may not be a “safe” Black district, but it fulfills plaintiffs’ requirement of a district that provides Black voters and equal opportunity with white voters to elect candidates of their choice.

V. Racial Gerrymandering and Intentional Discrimination

Plaintiffs’ cursorily claim that their remedial plans rectify racial gerrymandering by the state for its failure to aggregate as many minorities as possible into single-race 50%+ districts. They considered this practice to indicate an intent to discriminate against minority voters. The opposite is true. The legislature was following past practice, upheld by the courts, and my advice that it was not necessary to engage in such aggregation. Plaintiffs, not defendants, have engaged in drawing maps based predominantly on race to create 50%+ single-race majority CVAP districts across the state.

The McConchie plaintiffs’ expert Dr. Chen agrees that efforts to aggregate all possible minorities into districts that are 50% or more single-race minority represents racial gerrymandering. In critiquing the use of “an announced racial target’ like a 50% minority

population share,” Dr. Chen and his co-author wrote in a 2021 article that “*Indeed, use of such a target renders a district a presumptively unconstitutional racial gerrymander.*”⁹⁸ (emphasis added)

Similarly, in their lawsuit challenging the 2011 Illinois redistricting plan for the state legislature, Republican plaintiffs relied on testimony claiming that the joining together of minority communities is indicative of racial gerrymandering.⁹⁹ Now, Republican plaintiffs are claiming the opposite, that the failure to aggregate minorities everywhere in Illinois according to their fixed demographic threshold constitutes racial gerrymandering. This claim contradicts the common understanding of racial gerrymandering to avoid office-holders becoming stereotyped as representatives of only one race who can ignore the concerns of members of other races.

In testimony at an Illinois House hearing on April 1, 2021, Ben Williams of the National Conference of State Legislatures made this same point about efforts to concentrate minorities wherever possible into districts:

“So the Voting Rights Act requires that districts be drawn with a certain amount of a racial minority group to allow for them to elect a candidate of choice -- something we'll touch on a little bit later -- but there are different claims for whether or not too many people of a certain minority are put into a group, sort of called packing in this sense. The new racial gerrymandering claims get to that element of redistricting.”¹⁰⁰

In addition, plaintiffs have failed to provide the requisite study for proving an intent claim. The U.S. Supreme Court has provided a non-exhaustive list of circumstantial factors that

⁹⁸ Ibid., Chen and Stephanopoulos, p. 901-902.

⁹⁹ *Radogno, et al. v. Illinois State Board of Elections*, 836 F.Supp.2d 759, United States District Court, N.D. Illinois, Eastern Division (2012), at 738.

¹⁰⁰ Report of proceedings had at the Redistricting 10 Committee for the Illinois House of Representatives held 11 virtually via Zoom videoconference on the 1st day of 12 April, A.D., 2021, commencing at the hour of 12:14 p.m., pp. 29-30.

experts should examine for proof of discriminatory intent. The Supreme Court indicated that the determination of discriminatory intent requires a “a sensitive inquiry” that includes the non-exhaustive “subjects for proper inquiry in determining whether racially discriminatory intent existed,” These subjects include (1) The impact of the decision; (2) the historical background of the decision, particularly if it reveals a series of decisions undertaken with discriminatory intent; (3) the sequence of events leading up to the decision; (4) whether the challenged decision departs, either procedurally or substantively, from the normal practice; and (5) contemporaneous statements and viewpoints held by the decision-makers.¹⁰¹

These guidelines are consistent with standard principles and methods used in my field of history. I have many times used the guidelines as an expert for both plaintiffs and defendants to scrutinize intentional discrimination, including in as an expert for state defendants in Illinois during the 2011 litigation. The court in that litigation rejected the claims of intentional discrimination by Republican plaintiffs.

In their published redistricting guide already referenced in this report, MALDEF, the LDF and Asian Americans Advancing Justice recognized the necessity of analyzing the *Arlington Heights* factors and reproduces them on page 36. MALDEF additionally noted, “Legislators’ awareness of a harmful impact on a protected group is not enough. In order to prove intentional discrimination you must provide evidence of intent to cause that targeted impact.”¹⁰² The assessment of the *Arlington Heights* factors requires comprehensive and detailed

¹⁰¹ *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp.*, 429 U.S. 252, 268 (1977), at 266-68.

¹⁰² MALDEF, LDF, and Asian American Advancing Justice, “Power on the Lines: Making Redistricting Work for Us,” 2021, at 26-37, https://www.maldef.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/FINAL-LDF_04142021_RedistrictingGuide-22e.pdf.

analysis of each factor.¹⁰³ However, the MALDEF, NAACP and McConchie experts do not analyze the *Arlington Heights* factors or their equivalent in their reports.

To believe that the Illinois General Assembly intentionally racial gerrymandered legislative districts and intentionally discriminated against minorities, then implausibly in the State House, Emanuel Welch, the Black Speaker of the House, Mary E. Flowers and Jehan Gordon -Booth, the Black Deputy Majority Leaders, Elizabeth Hernandez, the Hispanic Chair of the House Redistricting Committee, LaToya Greenwood, the Black Majority Conference Chair, and Sonya M. Harper, the Chair of the Illinois Legislative Black Caucus, would have to be part of these alleged schemes. So too, in the State Senate, Kimberly Lightford, the Black Majority Leader, Antonio Munoz, Hispanic Assistant Majority Leader, Jacqueline Collins, Black Assistant Majority Leader, Mattie Hunter, the Black Majority Conference Chair, and Omar Aquino the Hispanic Chair of the Senate Redistricting Committee would have to be part of the alleged schemes. Also allegedly complicit would be the more than fifty minority members of the General Assembly who voted for S.B. 927 in the State House and the State Senate. Implausibly if the allegations had any merit, it would involve the same Democrats that enacted S.B. 927 also voted in the same session to adopt sweeping reforms in 2021 to expand access to the ballot.

White Republicans unanimously voted against SB 927. No minority Republicans are serving in the Illinois State Legislature.¹⁰⁴ All minorities in the Illinois General Assembly are Democrats. The House and Senate legislative sessions that adopted SB 927 sparked spirited debate. Republicans blasted Democrats for allegedly using the redistricting process to advance

¹⁰³ See, for example, my expert report in *City of South Miami v. DeSantis*: “Expert Report of Allan J. Lichtman,” https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/documents/ijp_fl_miami_v_desantis_expert_report_2020-final.pdf and U.S. District Court Judge Beth Bloom’s 21 September 2021 opinion: https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/USCOURTS-flsd-1_19-cv-22927/pdf/USCOURTS-flsd-1_19-cv-22927-5.pdf.

¹⁰⁴ Illinois General Assembly, Senate Bill 927, 2021, <https://legiscan.com/IL/bill/SB0927/2021>.

their partisan objectives and protect their incumbents. However, Republicans did not charge the Democrats with intentional racial gerrymandering or intent to discriminate against minorities. Those claims came only post hoc when plaintiffs filed their complaints.

It is additionally significant that in the legislative session that adopted S.B. 927, Republicans in the General Assembly lined up to against S.B. 825, which significantly expanded access to the vote as demonstrated in the Section that examines the nine Senate Factors. Every Republican in the Illinois House and Senate voted against S.B. 825. Only one Democrat in the House voted against S.B. 825. All other Democrats in both chambers voted for the bill.¹⁰⁵ SB 825 is analyzed in the Section on the Senate Factors, under Factor 1

VI. Conclusions: Summation of Plaintiffs' Remedies

McConchie Plaintiffs: The McConchie plaintiffs offer the only district-specific evidence on challenged districts through the analysis of Dr. Chen based on projections from one exogenous election. However, his choice of a representative election is misguided, his analysis omits four challenged districts, and is unreliable. Instead, I analyzed five challenged districts – HDs 3, 4, 24, and 39 and SD 2, using the appropriate method of reconstituted elections and a more representative election. The results demonstrated that for these districts, where analysis was feasible, a Hispanic candidate or preferred candidate would prevail by wide margins. Given the outcomes of landslide or near landslide victories in all five tested districts, there is reason to believe that other challenged districts in Cook County would perform similarly. Dr. Collingwood's report shows that a Black candidate or Black preferred candidate would prevail in challenged HD 114 for three representative elections for which reconstituted election analysis

¹⁰⁵ Illinois General Assembly, Senate Bill 825, 2021, <https://www.ilga.gov/legislation/BillStatus.asp?DocNum=825&GAID=16&DocTypeID=SB&SessionID=110&GA=102>.

could be applied. Like the other plaintiffs, the McConchie plaintiffs also do not adequately consider the prior electoral performance of most challenged districts or their status as majority-minority districts with no white majority.

The McConchie plaintiffs' attempt to create a new Hispanic 50%+ CVAP district in the Southern Cook County region: new HD 32, which includes Hispanic incumbent Angelia Guerra-Cuellar. The new HD 32 is barely above the 50%+ Hispanic CVAP percentage at 50.5%. And it substantially reduces the 60.4% Hispanic CVAP percentage of her prior district, HD 22. The McConchie proposal also shreds the core of Guerra-Cuellar's prior district as indicated in Table 11. The McConchie plan retains only 36.7% of the core of her prior HD 22, compared 81.9% under SB 927 for a differential of 45.2 percentage points. The McConchie plaintiffs also violate the 50%+ single-race threshold established by all the plaintiffs. Instead, they have defended as effective, a remedial district that is just 46.7% Hispanic in its CVAP percentage.

The attempt to create a new Hispanic opportunity district under the McConchie proposal is fraught with problems. As was demonstrated in the Section on Gingles Prong 3, at a win rate of more than 90%, Hispanics have been able to elect candidates of their choice in State House districts of 28% Hispanic CVAP or more. There are fourteen such districts in the SB 927 plan and fourteen in the McConchie plaintiffs' proposed plan. Moreover, as noted above, the Republican plan dismantles the Asian CVAP of one of the few districts that has elected an Asian representative and slashing the Asian percentage of her new district by more than half. The McConchie plan comes further at the expense of pairing two Black incumbents in the same district and pairing three Hispanic incumbents and one white incumbent in a single district. It comes at the expense of shredding the core of existing districts for other minority incumbents.

Contreras Plan: The Contreras plaintiffs challenge HDs 3, 4, 21, 24, and 39 and SD 2 and 11. Yet I was able to conduct reconstituted election analysis on five of these six districts, except for SD 11. The results for each reconstitution showed a substantial victory for the Hispanic candidate ranging from 57% to just over 60%. Thus, the Contreras plaintiffs have not established any district-specific deficiency that needs rectification through their plan. They have not offered any district-specific proof of their own that the challenged districts fail to provide an equal opportunity for Hispanic voters to elect candidates of their choice.

Moreover, in their attempt to pack Hispanics into 50%+ single-race CVAP districts, the Contreras plaintiffs have reduced the number of Hispanic opportunity districts in the Illinois State House. There are thirteen, not fourteen, districts in the Contreras proposal that are above the minimum 28% Hispanic CVAP percentage. The next most substantial Hispanic district in their plan falls to 24.0%. This is House District 19, with white incumbent Lindsey Lapointe.

NAACP plaintiffs: The NAACP plaintiffs challenge only House District 114. As demonstrated above, based on the findings of both Dr. Chen and Dr. Collingwood, HD 114 is already a Black opportunity district and does not need to be redrawn.

With respect to this challenge, the plaintiffs create a problem where it does not exist and attempt to create a detrimental precedent for Illinois and the nation. Minority empowerment is restricted, not advanced, through plaintiffs' strategy of packing minorities into 50%+ single race CVAP districts, typically three-quarters or more minority in total population. Their artificial, forced aggregation of minorities to conform to a mechanical threshold is evidence from the many district that they push up to just a fraction of one-percent above the 50%+ mark. A flexible approach to drawing minority districts expands opportunities for minorities to run for office and win legislative seats. This more flexible approach also benefits from challenging the stereotypes

that minorities are insular groups capable of electing candidates of their choice only with their own votes. These propositions were established through the Bartels litigation in New Jersey twenty years ago and reaffirmed in subsequent litigation in Virginia, Alabama, and North Carolina. I am surprised to see the same arguments from twenty years ago reprised in this matter in Illinois.

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**ALLAN J. LICHTMAN, CASES (DATES APPROXIMATE)
DEPOSITION, AFFIDAVIT, OR ORAL TESTIMONY**

LULAC v. Pate (Iowa District Court, Johnson County), 2021

McConchie v. Illinois State Board of Elections (U.S. District Court, Illinois), 2021

City of South Miami v. DeSantis (U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida), 2020

Bruni v. Hughs (U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas), 2020

NAACP v. Cooper (U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina), 2019

Jason Gonzales v. Michael J. Madigan (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois), 2019

Anne Harding v. County of Dallas, (U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas), 2018

Pico Neighborhood Association v. Santa Monica (State Superior Court, California), 2018

Benisek v. Lamone, (U.S. District Court, Maryland), 2017

Arizona Democratic Party v. Reagan (U.S. District Court, Arizona), 2017

Perez v. Abbott (U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas), 2017

Terrebonne Parish NAACP v. Jindal (U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Louisiana), 2017

Feldman v. Arizona Secretary of State (U.S. District Court for the District of Arizona), 2016, 2017

Covington v. North Carolina (U. S. District Court Middle District of North Carolina) 2016

One Wisconsin Institute v. Nichols (United States District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin) 2016

Lee v. Virginia State Board of Elections (United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia) 2016

League of Women Voters v. Detzner, (Circuit Court for the Second Judicial Circuit, Leon County) 2015

North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory (U. S. District Court Middle District of North Carolina) 2015

Curriculum Vitae

Allan J. Lichtman
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(202) 885-2411 o

EDUCATION

BA, Brandeis University, Phi Beta Kappa, Magna Cum Laude, 1967

PhD, Harvard University, Graduate Prize Fellow, 1973

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Teaching Fellow, American History, Harvard University, 1969-73

Instructor, Brandeis University, 1970, quantitative history

Assistant Professor of History, American University, 1973-1977

Associate Professor of History, American University, 1977-1978

Professor of History, American University, 1979 –

Distinguished Professor, 2011 -

Expert witness in more than 90 redistricting, voting rights and civil rights cases

Associate Dean for Faculty and Curricular Development, College of Arts & Sciences, The American University 1985-1987

Chair, Department of History, American University, 1997- 2001

Regular political analyst for CNN Headline News, 2003-2006

HONORS AND AWARDS

Outstanding Teacher, College of Arts and Sciences, 1975-76

Outstanding Scholar, College of Arts and Sciences, 1978-79

Outstanding Scholar, The American University, 1982-83

Outstanding Scholar/Teacher, The American University, 1992-93 (Highest University faculty award)

Sherman Fairchild Distinguished Visiting Scholar, California Institute of Technology, 1980-81

American University summer research grant, 1978 & 1982

Chamber of Commerce, Outstanding Young Men of America 1979-80

Graduate Student Council, American University, Faculty Award, 1982

Top Speaker Award, National Convention of the International Platform Association, 1983, 1984, 1987

National Age Group Champion (30-34) 3000-meter steeplechase 1979

Eastern Region Age Group Champion (30-34) 1500 meter run 1979

Defeated twenty opponents on nationally syndicated quiz show, TIC TAC DOUGH, 1981

Listing in Marquis, WHO'S WHO IN THE AMERICA AND WHO'S WHO IN THE WORLD

McDonnell Foundation, Prediction of Complex Systems (\$50,000, three years), 2003-2005

Organization of American Historians, Distinguished Lecturer, 2004 -

Selected by the Teaching Company as one of America's Super Star Teachers."

Associate Editor, International Journal of Operations Research and Information Systems, 2008 -

Keynote Speaker, International Forecasting Summit, 2007 and 2008

Cited authoritatively by United States Supreme Court in statewide Texas Congressional redistricting case *LULAC v. Perry* (2006)

Interviews nominated by the Associated Press for the Edward R. Murrow Award for broadcasting excellence.

WHITE PROTESTANT NATION: THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: Finalist for the 2008 National Book Critics Circle Award in general nonfiction.

Elected Member, PEN American Center, 2009

Appointed Distinguished Professor, 2011

FDR AND THE JEWS: Designated for Belknap Imprint of the Harvard University Press,

reserved for works of special distinction and lasting value; *New York Times* editors' choice book for 2013, submitted for Pulitzer Prize 2013, winner of Tikkun Olam Award for Holocaust Studies, winner of National Jewish Book Award in American Jewish Studies, finalist for Los Angeles Times Book Award in History.

THE CASE FOR IMPEACHMENT: Independent bookstore bestseller, Amazon.com bestseller in several academic categories, *Newsweek*, best new book releases, April 18, 2017.

Winner of the Alfred Nelson Marquis Life Time Achievement Award for top 5% of persons included in Marquis WHO'S WHO, 2018.

Listed by rise.global as # 85 among 100 most influential geopolitical experts in the world.

SCHOLARSHIP

A. Books

PREJUDICE AND THE OLD POLITICS: THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979)

PREJUDICE AND THE OLD POLITICS: THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928 (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000), reprint of 1979 edition with new introduction.

HISTORIANS AND THE LIVING PAST: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF HISTORICAL STUDY (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1978, with Valerie French)

ECOLOGICAL INFERENCE (Sage Series in Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 1978, with Laura Irwin Langbein)

YOUR FAMILY HISTORY: HOW TO USE ORAL HISTORY, PERSONAL FAMILY ARCHIVES, AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS TO DISCOVER YOUR HERITAGE (New York: Random House, 1978)

KIN AND COMMUNITIES: FAMILIES IN AMERICA (edited, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Press, 1979, with Joan Challinor)

THE THIRTEEN KEYS TO THE PRESIDENCY (Lanham: Madison Books, 1990, with Ken DeCell)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 1996 EDITION (Lanham: Madison Books, 1996)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, (Lanham: Lexington Books Edition, 2000)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, POST-2004 EDITION (Lanham: Lexington Books Edition, 2005)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2008 EDITION (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008)

WHITE PROTESTANT NATION: THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT (New York: Grove/Atlantic Press, 2008)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2012 EDITION (2012, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield)

FDR AND THE JEWS, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Imprint, 2013, with Richard Breitman).

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2016 EDITION (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield)

THE CASE FOR IMPEACHMENT (HarperCollins, April 2017, updated paperback January 2018)

THE EMBATTLED VOTE IN AMERICA: FROM THE FOUNDING TO THE PRESENT (Harvard University Press, 2018)

REPEAL THE SECOND AMENDMENT: THE CASE FOR A SAFER AMERICA (St. Martin's Press, 2020)

THE KEYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, 2020 EDITION (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020)

THIRTEEN CRACKS: CLOSING DEMOCRACIES LOOPHOLES ((Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021)

Monographs:

“Report on the Implications for Minority Voter Opportunities if Corrected census Data Had Been Used for the Post-1990 Redistricting: States With The Largest Numerical Undercount,” UNITED STATES CENSUS MONITORING BOARD, January 2001

“Report on the Racial Impact of the Rejection of Ballots Cast in the 2000 Presidential Election in the State of Florida,” and “Supplemental Report,” in VOTING IRREGULARITIES IN FLORIDA DURING THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, United States Commission on Civil Rights, June 2001

B. Scholarly Articles

"The Federal Assault Against Voting Discrimination in the Deep South, 1957-1967," JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY (Oct. 1969) REF

"Executive Enforcement of Voting Rights, 1957-60," in Terrence Goggin and John Seidel, eds., POLITICS AMERICAN STYLE (1971)

"Correlation, Regression, and the Ecological Fallacy: A Critique," JOURNAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARY HISTORY (Winter 1974) REF

"Critical Election Theory and the Reality of American Presidential Politics, 1916-1940," AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (April 1976) REF

"Across the Great Divide: Inferring Individual Behavior From Aggregate Data," POLITICAL METHODOLOGY (with Laura Irwin, Fall 1976) REF

"Regression vs. Homogeneous Units: A Specification Analysis," SOCIAL SCIENCE HISTORY (Winter 1978) REF

"Language Games, Social Science, and Public Policy: The Case of the Family," in Harold Wallach, ed., APPROACHES TO CHILD AND FAMILY POLICY (Washington, D. C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1981)

"Pattern Recognition Applied to Presidential Elections in the United States, 1860-1980: The Role of Integral Social, Economic, and Political Traits," PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE (with V. I. Keilis-Borok, November 1981) REF

"The End of Realignment Theory? Toward a New Research Program for American Political History," HISTORICAL METHODS (Fall 1982)

"Kinship and Family in American History," in National Council for Social Studies Bulletin, UNITED STATES HISTORY IN THE 1980s (1982)

"Modeling the Past: The Specification of Functional Form," JOURNAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARY HISTORY (with Ivy Broder, Winter 1983) REF

"Political Realignment and 'Ethnocultural' Voting in Late Nineteenth Century America," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL HISTORY (March 1983) REF

"The 'New Political History': Some Statistical Questions Answered," SOCIAL SCIENCE HISTORY (with J. Morgan Kousser, August 1983) REF

"Personal Family History: A Bridge to the Past," PROLOGUE (Spring 1984)

"Geography as Destiny," REVIEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY (September 1985)

"Civil Rights Law: High Court Decision on Voting Act Helps to Remove Minority Barriers," NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL (with Gerald Hebert, November 10, 1986).

"Tommy The Cork: The Secret World of Washington's First Modern Lobbyist," WASHINGTON MONTHLY (February 1987).

"Discriminatory Election Systems and the Political Cohesion Doctrine," NATIONAL LAW

JOURNAL (with Gerald Hebert, Oct. 5, 1987)

"Aggregate-Level Analysis of American Midterm Senatorial Election Results, 1974-1986," PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES (Dec. 1989, with Volodia Keilis-Borok) REF

"Black/White Voter Registration Disparities in Mississippi: Legal and Methodological Issues in Challenging Bureau of Census Data," JOURNAL OF LAW AND POLITICS (Spring, 1991, with Samuel Issacharoff) REF

"Adjusting Census Data for Reapportionment: The Independent Role of the States," NATIONAL BLACK LAW JOURNAL (1991)

"Passing the Test: Ecological Regression in the Los Angeles County Case and Beyond," EVALUATION REVIEW (December 1991) REF

Understanding and Prediction of Large Unstable Systems in the Absence of Basic Equations," PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON CONCEPTUAL TOOLS FOR UNDERSTANDING NATURE (with V. I. Keilis-Borok, Trieste, Italy, 1991).

"The Self-Organization of American Society in Presidential and Senatorial Elections," in Yu. Krautsov, ed., THE LIMITS OF PREDICTABILITY (with V.I. Keilis-Borok, Nauka, Moscow, 1992).

"'They Endured:' The Democratic Party in the 1920s," in Ira Foreman, ed., DEMOCRATS AND THE AMERICAN IDEA: A BICENTENNIAL APPRAISAL (1992).

"A General Theory of Vote Dilution," LA RAZA (with Gerald Hebert) 6 (1993). REF

"Adjusting Census Data for Reapportionment: The Independent Role of the States," JOURNAL OF LITIGATION (December 1993, with Samuel Issacharoff)

"The Keys to the White House: Who Will be the Next American President?," SOCIAL EDUCATION 60 (1996)

"The Rise of Big Government: Not As Simple As It Seems," REVIEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY 26 (1998)

"The Keys to Election 2000," SOCIAL EDUCATION (Nov/Dec. 1999)

"The Keys to the White House 2000," NATIONAL FORUM (Winter 2000)

"What Really Happened in Florida's 2000 Presidential Election," JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES (January 2003) REF

"The Keys to Election 2004," SOCIAL EDUCATION (January 2004)

“History: Social Science Applications,” *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL MEASUREMENT* (Elsevier, 2006)

“The Keys to the White House: Forecast for 2008,” *SPECIAL FEATURE, FORESIGHT: THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF APPLIED FORECASTING* 3 (February 2006), 5-9 with response: J. Scott Armstrong and Alfred G. Cuzan, “Index Methods for Forecasting: An Application to the American Presidential Elections.”

“The Keys to the White House: Updated Forecast for 2008,” *FORESIGHT; THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF APPLIED FORECASTING* 7 (Fall 2007)

“The Keys to the White House: Prediction for 2008,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION* (January 2008)

“The Keys to the White House: An Index Forecast for 2008,” *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF FORECASTING* 4 (April-June 2008) REF

“The Updated Version of the Keys,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION* (October 2008)

“Extreme Events in Socio-Economic and Political Complex Systems, Predictability of,” *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF COMPLEXITY AND SYSTEMS SCIENCE* (Springer, 2009, with Vladimir Keilis-Borok & Alexandre Soloviev)

“The Keys to the White House: A Preliminary Forecast for 2012” *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF INFORMATION SYSTEMS & SOCIAL CHANGE* (Jan.-March 2010) REF

“The Keys to the White House: Forecast for 2012,” *FORESIGHT: THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF APPLIED FORECASTING* (Summer 2010)

“The Keys to the White House: Prediction for 2012,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION* (March 2012)

“The Keys to the White House: Prediction for 2016,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION* (February 2016)

“The Keys to the White House,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION* (October 2016)

“The Keys to the White House: Forecast for 2016,” *WORLD FINANCIAL REVIEW* (January-February 2016)

“Barack Obama” in James M. Banner, Jr., ed., *PRESIDENTIAL MISCONDUCT: FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON TO TODAY* (New Press, 2019)

“The 2020 Presidential Election: How the Keys Are Pointing,” *SOCIAL EDUCATION*, Jan./Feb. 2020.

“The Keys to the White House: Forecast for 2020,” *HARVARD DATA SCIENCE REVIEW*

(Oct. 2020) REF

"The Alternative-Justification Affirmative: A New Case Form," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Charles Garvin and Jerome Corsi, Fall 1973) REF

"The Alternative-Justification Case Revisited: A Critique of Goodnight, Balthrop and Parsons, 'The Substance of Inherency,'" JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Jerome Corsi, Spring 1975) REF

"A General Theory of the Counterplan," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Daniel Rohrer, Fall 1975) REF

"The Logic of Policy Dispute," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Daniel Rohrer, Spring 1980) REF

"Policy Dispute and Paradigm Evaluation," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (with Daniel Rohrer, Fall 1982) REF

"New Paradigms For Academic Debate," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (Fall 1985) REF

"Competing Models of the Debate Process," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FORENSIC ASSOCIATION (Winter 1986) REF

"The Role of the Criteria Case in the Conceptual Framework of Academic Debate," in Donald Terry, ed., MODERN DEBATE CASE TECHNIQUES (with Daniel Rohrer, 1970)

"Decision Rules for Policy Debate," and "Debate as a Comparison of Policy Systems," in Robert 2, ed., THE NEW DEBATE: READINGS IN CONTEMPORARY DEBATE THEORY (with Daniel Rohrer, 1975)

"A Systems Approach to Presumption and Burden of Proof;" "The Role of Empirical Evidence in Debate;" and "A General Theory of the Counterplan," in David Thomas, ed., ADVANCED DEBATE: READINGS IN THEORY, PRACTICE, AND TEACHING (with Daniel Rohrer, 1975)

"Decision Rules in Policy Debate;" "The Debate Resolution;" "Affirmative Case Approaches;" "A General Theory of the Counterplan;" "The Role of Empirical Evidence in Debate;" and "Policy Systems Analysis in Debate," in David Thomas, ed., ADVANCED DEBATE (revised edition, with Daniel Rohrer and Jerome Corsi, 1979)

C. Selected Popular Articles

"Presidency By The Book," POLITICS TODAY (November 1979) Reprinted: LOS ANGELES TIMES

"The Grand Old Ploys," NEW YORK TIMES
Op Ed (July 18, 1980)

"The New Prohibitionism," THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY (October 29, 1980)

"Which Party Really Wants to `Get Government Off Our Backs`?" CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR Opinion Page (December 2, 1980)

"Do Americans Really Want `Coolidge Prosperity` Again?" CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
Opinion Page (August 19, 1981)

"Chipping Away at Civil Rights," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (February
17, 1982)

"How to Bet in 1984. A Presidential Election Guide," WASHINGTONIAN MAGAZINE
(April 1982) Reprinted: THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

"The Mirage of Efficiency," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (October 6,
1982)

"For RIFs, It Should Be RIP," LOS ANGELES TIMES Opinion Page (January 25, 1983)

"The Patronage Monster, Con't." WASHINGTON POST Free For All Page (March 16, 1983)

"A Strong Rights Unit," NEW YORK TIMES Op Ed Page (June 19, 1983)

"Abusing the Public Till," LOS ANGELES TIMES Opinion Page (July 26, 1983)

"The First Gender Gap," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Opinion Page (August 16, 1983)

"Is Reagan A Sure Thing?" FT. LAUDERDALE NEWS Outlook Section (February 5, 1984)

"The Keys to the American Presidency: Predicting the Next Election," TALENT (Summer 1984)

"GOP: Winning the Political Battle for `88," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page,
(December 27, 1984)

"The Return of `Benign Neglect`," WASHINGTON POST, Free For All,
(May 25, 1985)

"Selma Revisited: A Quiet Revolution," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page,
(April 1, 1986)

"Democrats Take Over the Senate" THE WASHINGTONIAN (November 1986; article by Ken
DeCell on Lichtman's advance predictions that the Democrats would recapture the Senate in

1986)

"Welcome War?" THE BALTIMORE EVENING SUN, Opinion Page, (July 15, 1987)

"How to Bet in 1988," WASHINGTONIAN (May 1988; advance prediction of George Bush's 1988 victory)

"President Bill?," WASHINGTONIAN (October 1992; advance prediction of Bill Clinton's 1992 victory)

"Don't be Talked Out of Boldness," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page (with Jesse Jackson, November 9, 1992)

"Defending the Second Reconstruction," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Opinion Page (April 8, 1994)

"Quotas Aren't The Issue," NEW YORK TIMES, Op Ed Page (December 7, 1994)

"History According to Newt," WASHINGTON MONTHLY (May, 1995)

"A Ballot on Democracy," WASHINGTON POST Op Ed (November 1, 1998)

"The Theory of Counting Heads vs. One, Two, Three," CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Op Ed (June 22, 1999)

"Race Was Big Factor in Ballot Rejection, BALTIMORE SUN Op Ed (March 5, 2002)

"Why is George Bush President?," NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER (Dec. 19, 2003)

"In Plain Sight: With the Public Distracted, George W. Bush is Building a Big Government of the Right," NEWSDAY, (August 7, 2005)

"Why Obama is Colorblind and McCain is Ageless," JEWISH DAILY FORWARD (June 26, 2008)

"Splintered Conservatives McCain," POLITICO (June 24, 2008)

"Will Obama be a Smith or a Kennedy," NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER (October 17, 2008)

"What Obama Should Do Now," POLITICO (Jan. 22, 2010)

“Why Democrats Need Hillary Clinton in 2016,” THE HILL, June 11, 2014

“How Corporations Buy Our Government,” THE HILL, July 1, 2014

“Who Rules America,” THE HILL, August 12, 2014

“The End of Civil Discourse?” THE HILL, September 10, 2014

“Pass the Ache Act and Stop Destroying Appalachia?” THE HILL, October 28, 2014

“Democrats Have No One to Blame But Themselves,” THE HILL, November 7, 2014

“Donald Trump’s Best Friend: Bernie Sanders,” THE HILL March 10, 2016

“Trump Had One Thing Right About Abortion,” THE HILL, April 1, 2016

“What is so Progressive About Sanders’ Old-Fashioned Protectionism,” April 7, 2016

“Sanders is Only Helping Trump by Staying in Race,” THE HILL, June 30, 2016

“7 Pieces of Advice for Hillary Clinton,” THE HILL, July 25, 2016

“Donald Trump’s Call For Russia To Hack Hillary Clinton’s Email Is A New Low For American Politics — And Maybe A Crime, NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, July 27, 2016

“Here’s the Big Speech Clinton Needs to Make,” THE HILL, September 9, 2016

“The Real Story Behind Trump’s Tax Returns,” THE HILL, October 3, 2016

“Trump is Establishment No Matter What He Says,” THE HILL, October 12, 2016

“Trump Brings the Big Lie About Voter Fraud,” THE HILL, October 19, 2016

“How a New Clinton Presidency Will Change American Politics Forever,” THE HILL, October 22, 2016

“The Media is Rigging the Election by Reporting WikiLeaks Emails,” THE HILL, October 26, 2016

“Why James Comey Must Resign Now,” THE HILL, November 3, 2016

“Why Trump is Vulnerable to Impeachment,” USA TODAY, April 18, 2017

“Donald Trump Meet the Real Andrew Jackson,” THE HILL, May 5, 2017

“Why Does Trump’s Voter Fraud Commission Really Wants Your Personal Voter Information,”

THE HILL, August 3, 2017

“Trump is a Lot Closer to Being Impeached, TIME.COM, November 2, 2017

“American Democracy Could be at Risk in the 2018 Elections,” VICE December 20, 2017

“We are One Tantrum Away From Accidental War With North Korea,” THE HILL, January 25, 2018

“Democrats Can’t Survive on Anti-Trumpism Alone,” TIME.COM, January 28, 2018

“Don’t Expect the Mueller Investigation to End Anytime Soon,” VICE March 21, 2018

“President Trump Faces Political Disaster if he Tries to Fire Mueller,” THE HILL April 5, 2018

“Framers Fail: Voting is a Basic Right But They Didn’t Guarantee it in the Constitution,” USA TODAY, September 26, 2018

“Suppressing Voting Rights is as Old as the Republic, But the Tactics Change,” ZOCALO, October 8, 2018

“Voter Fraud Isn’t a Problem in America. Low Turnout Is,” WASHINGTON POST, Made for History, October 22, 2018

“Here are five ways a Democratic US House might try to impeach Donald Trump,” LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, US CENTRE, October 26, 2018.

“The Midterm Results Will Reveal What Drives Voters: A Love or Hate of Trump,” THE GUARDIAN, November 5, 2018

“Unless Democrats Find a 2020 Candidate Like Beto O’Rourke, Trump May Well Be Set to Win” THE DAILY CALLER, November 7, 2018

“Why Nancy Pelosi Should be the Next Speaker, FORTUNE, November 27, 2018

“Its Well Past Time to Restructure the U.S. Senate,” DAILY CALLER, December 4, 2018

“The Seven Crucial Takeaways From William Barr’s Confirmation Hearings,” SPECTATOR USA, January 16, 2019

“Did Democrats Forfeit, 2020” THE HILL March 14, 2019

“Barr’s ‘Summary’ Of The Mueller Report Hardly Vindicates Trump,” DAILY CALLER, March

25, 2019

“Collusion and Obstruction by Trump remain Open Questions after Attorney General’s “Summary” of the Mueller Report,” ARTSFORUM, March 26, 2019

“21 Questions for Robert Mueller,” THE HILL, April 24, 2019

With U.S. Representative Al Green, “Congress Has a Duty to go Through With the Impeachment and Trial of Donald Trump,” THE HILL, May 17, 2019

“If Democrats Want to Beat Trump, They Need to Take off the Gloves in the Primary,” GQ, June 26, 2019

“Why Impeachment Of William Sulzer Is Solid Precedent For Donald Trump,” THE HILL, September 9, 2019

“Not Futile To Impeach,” NY DAILY NEWS, September 25, 2019

“Why Impeachment Favors Democrats In The Election,” THE HILL, September 28, 2019

“If Trump is Impeached, Pence Should Go Too,” TPM, October 7, 2019

“Time to Stop Talking ‘Quid Pro Quo,’ and Start Looking at Actual Crimes,” THE HILL, November 13, 2019

“Of all the Presidential Impeachment Inquiries, This is the One That Transcends Politics the Most,” POLITICO, November 16, 2019

“Bill Barr’s Dangerous Celebration of Unchecked Presidential Power,” NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, November 25, 2019

“What Trump Really Wanted From Ukraine Was Not About Enemies,” THE HILL, November 25, 2019

“Pelosi, Schiff Should Take More Time If They Want A Successful Impeachment Effort,” DAILY CALLER, November 29, 2019

“It’s Our Political System, Not Impeachment, That Is Broken. And Only Politics Can Fix It,” POLITICO, December 6, 2019

“The 2010s Were the Decade That Brought Democracy to the Breaking Point,” TPM, December 23, 2019

“Will Roberts Call Balls and Strikes at the Impeachment Trial,” THE HILL, December 30, 2019

“The Bill Clinton Trial Cannot Serve as the Model for the Donald Trump Trial,” THE HILL,

January 8, 2020

“What Law Did Donald Trump Break?” THE HILL, January 23, 2020

“The Flawed Case of Alan Dershowitz,” THE HILL, January 30, 2020

“What Will the History Books Say About This Impeachment,” POLITICO, February 5, 2020

“Why Bernie Sanders is Electable,” THE HILL, February 24, 2020

“The Ugly History of Trump’s Looting/Shooting Threat,” NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, May 29, 2020

“What Joe Biden Must do Now,” THE HILL, June 10, 2020

“Bad Economies do not Threaten Lives,” (with Sam Lichtman), THE HILL, July 6, 2020

“He Predicted Trump’s Win in 2016: Now He’s Ready to Call 2020,” NEW YORK TIMES VIDEO, August 5, 2020

“Time to Jettison Horse Race Polls,” THE HILL, November 19, 2020

“Here is the Smoking Gun Evidence to Back Impeachment of Donald Trump,” THE HILL, February 8, 2021.

“There’s No Constitutional Question: The Senate Can Try Trump,” NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, February 8, 2021

Bi-weekly column, THE MONTGOMERY JOURNAL, GAZETTE 1990 - 2013

Election-year column, REUTERS NEWS SERVICE 1996 & 2000

Contributor: THE HILL, 2014-present

D. Video Publication

“Great American Presidents,” The Teaching Company, 2000.

TEACHING

Ongoing Courses

The History of the U. S. I & II, The Emergence of Modern America, The U. S. in the Twentieth Century, United States Economic History, Historiography, Major Seminar in History, Graduate Research Seminar, Colloquium in U. S. History Since 1865, The American Dream, The Urban-Technological Era, Senior Seminar in American Studies, Seminar in Human Communication.

New Courses: Taught for the first time at The American University

Quantification in History, Women in Twentieth Century American Politics, Women in Twentieth Century America, Historians and the Living Past (a course designed to introduce students to the excitement and relevance of historical study), **Historians and the Living Past for Honors Students**, How to Think: Critical Analysis in the Social Sciences, Pivotal Years of American Politics, **Government and the Citizen (Honors Program)**, Introduction to Historical Quantification, Public Policy in U. S. History, **Honors Seminar in U.S. Presidential Elections**, America's Presidential Elections, What Is America?, **Honors Seminar on FDR, Jews, and the Holocaust**.

TELEVISION APPEARANCES

More than 1,000 instances of political commentary on NBC, CBS, ABC, CNN, C-SPAN, FOX, MSNBC, BBC, CBC, CTV, NPR, VOA, and numerous other broadcasting outlets internationally, including Japanese, Russian, Chinese, German, French, Irish, Austrian, Australian, Russian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, and Middle Eastern television.

Regular political commentary for NBC News Nightside.

Regular political commentary for Voice of America and USIA.

Regular political commentary for America's Talking Cable Network.

Regular political commentary for the Canadian Broadcasting System.

Regular political commentary for CNN, Headline News

Consultant and on-air commentator for NBC special productions video project on the history of the American presidency.

CBS New Consultant, 1998 and 1999

Featured appearances on several History Channel specials including *The Nuclear Football* and *The President's Book of Secrets*.

RADIO SHOWS

I have participated in many thousands of radio interview and talk shows broadcast nationwide, in foreign nations, and in cities such as Washington, D. C., New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles and Detroit. My appearances include the Voice of America, National Public Radio, and well as all major commercial radio networks.

PRESS CITATIONS

I have been cited many hundreds of times on public affairs in the leading newspapers and magazines worldwide. These include, among many others,

New York Times, Washington Post, USA Today, Los Angeles Times, Wall Street Journal, Miami Herald, Washington Times, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Christian Science Monitor, Philadelphia Inquirer, Time, Newsweek, Business Week, Le Monde, Globe and Mail, Yomuiiri Shimbun, Die Welt, El Mundo, and South China Post, among others.

SELECTED CONFERENCES, PRESENTATIONS, & LECTURES: UNITED STATES

Invited participant and speaker, Bostick Conference on Fogel and Engerman`s TIME ON THE CROSS, University of South Carolina, November 1-2, 1974

"Critical Election Theory and the Presidential Election of 1928," Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, December 1974

"A Psychological Model of American Nativism," Bloomsberg State Historical Conference, April 1975

"Methodology for Aggregating Data in Education Research," National Institute of Education, Symposium on Methodology, July 1975, with Laura Irwin

Featured Speaker, The Joint Washington State Bicentennial Conference on Family History, October 1975

Featured Speaker, The Santa Barbara Conference on Family History, May 1976

Chair, The Smithsonian Institution and the American University Conference on Techniques for Studying Historical and Contemporary Families, June 1976

Panel Chair, Sixth International Smithsonian Symposium on Kin and Communities in America, June 1977

"The uses of History for Policy Analysis," invited lecture, Federal Interagency Panel on Early Childhood Research, October 1977

Invited participant, Conference on "Child Development within the Family - Evolving New Research Approaches," Interagency Panel of the Federal Government for Research and Development on Adolescence, June 1978

Commentator on papers in argumentation, Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 1978

Commentator on papers on family policy, Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Jan. 1979

"Phenomenology, History, and Social Science," Graduate Colloquium of the Department of Philosophy, The American University, March 1979

"Comparing Tests for Aggregation Bias: Party Realignment of the 1930's," Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association March 1979, with Laura Irwin Langbein

"Party Loyalty and Progressive Politics: Quantitative Analysis of the Vote for President in 1912," Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April 1979, with Jack Lord II

"Policy Systems Debate: A Reaffirmation," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 1979

"Personal Family History: Toward a Unified Approach," Invited Paper, World Conference on Records, Salt Lake City, August 1980

"Crisis at the Archives: The Acquisition, Preservation, and Dissemination of Public Documents," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 1980

"Recruitment, Conversion, and Political Realignment in America: 1888- 1940," Social Science Seminar, California Institute of Technology, April 1980

"Toward a Situational Logic of American Presidential Elections," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 1981

"Political Realignment in American History," Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, October 1981

"Critical Elections in Historical Perspective: the 1890s and the 1930s," Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, November 1982

Commentator for Papers on the use of Census data for historical research, Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April 1983

"Thirteen Keys to the Presidency: How to Predict the Next Election," Featured Presentation, Annual Conference of the International Platform Association, August 1983, Received a Top Speaker Award

"Paradigms for Academic Debate," Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, November 1983

Local Arrangements Chair, Annual Convention of the Social Science History Association, October 1983

"Forecasting the Next Election," Featured Speaker, Annual Convention of the American Feed Manufacturers Association, May 1984

Featured Speaker, "The Ferraro Nomination," Annual Convention of The International Platform Association, August 1984, Top Speaker Award

"Forecasting the 1984 Election," Annual Convention of the Social Science History Association Oct. 1984,

Featured Speaker, "The Keys to the Presidency," Meeting of Women in Government Relations October 1984

Featured Speaker, "The Presidential Election of 1988," Convention of the American Association of Political Consultants, December 1986

Featured Speaker, "The Presidential Election of 1988," Convention of the Senior Executive Service of the United States, July 1987

Commentary on Papers on Voting Rights, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1987.

Commentary on Papers on Ecological Inference, Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, November 1987.

Featured Speaker: "Expert Witnesses in Federal Voting Rights Cases," National Conference on Voting Rights, November 1987.

Featured Speaker: "The Quantitative Analysis of Electoral Data," NAACP National Conference on Voting Rights and School Desegregation, July 1988.

Panel Chair, "Quantitative Analysis of the New Deal Realignment," Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Nov. 1989.

Keynote Speaker, Convocation of Lake Forest College, Nov. 1989.

Featured Speaker, The American University-Smithsonian Institution Conference on the Voting Rights Act, April 1990

Panel Speaker, Voting Rights Conference of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, April 1990

Panel Speaker, Voting Rights Conference of the NAACP, July 1990

Panel Speaker, Voting Rights Conference of Stetson University, April 1991

Panel Chair, Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April, 1992

Panel Speaker, Symposium on "Lessons from 200 Years of Democratic Party History, Center for National Policy, May 1992

Olin Memorial Lecture, U.S. Naval Academy, October 1992

Commentator, Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April, 1993

Panel presentation, Conference on Indian Law, National Bar Association, April 1993

Feature Presentation, Black Political Science Association, Norfolk State University, June 1993

Feature Presentation, Southern Regional Council Conference, Atlanta Georgia, November, 1994

Master of Ceremonies and Speaker, State of the County Brunch, Montgomery County, February, 1996

Feature Presentation, Predicting The Next Presidential Election, Freedom's Foundation Seminar on the American Presidency, August 1996

Feature Presentation, Predicting The Next Presidential Election, Salisbury State College, October 1996

Feature Presentation on the Keys to the White House, Dirksen Center, Peoria, Illinois, August, 2000

Feature Presentation on American Political History, Regional Conference of the Organization of American Historians, August 2000

Testimony Presented Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights Regarding Voting Systems and Voting Rights, January 2001

Testimony Presented Before the United States House of Representatives, Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, February 2001

Testimony Presented Before the United States Senate, Government Operations Committee, Regarding Racial Differentials in Ballot Rejection Rates in the Florida Presidential Election, June 2001

Testimony Presented Before the Texas State Senate Redistricting Committee, Congressional Redistricting, July 2003

Testimony Presented Before the Texas State House Redistricting Committee, Congressional Redistricting, July 2003

American University Honors Program Tea Talk on the Election, September 2004

Feature Presentation, The Keys to the White House, International Symposium on Forecasting, June 2006.

Feature Presentation, The Keys to the White House, International Symposium on Forecasting, New York, June 2007.

Keynote Speaker, Hubert Humphrey Fellows, Arlington, Virginia, 2007-2013

Feature Presentation, Forecasting 2008, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 2007

Keynote Speaker, International Forecasting Summit, Orlando, Florida, February 2008.

Feature Presentation on the Keys to the White House, Senior Executive's Service, Washington, DC, June 2008

Feature Presentation, American Political History, Rockford Illinois School District, July 2008

American University Honors Program Tea Talk on the Election, September 2008

Featured Lecture, Keys to the White House, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, DC, September 2008

Keynote Speaker, International Forecasting Summit, Boston, September 2008

Keynote Lecture, Hubert Humphrey Fellows, Arlington, Virginia October 2008

Featured Lectures, Keys to the White, Oklahoma Central and East Central Universities, October 2008

Bishop C. C. McCabe Lecture, "Seven Days until Tomorrow" American University, October 28, 2008

Featured Lecture, WHITE PROTESTANT NATION, Eisenhower Institute, December 2008

American University Faculty on the Road Lecture, "Election 2008: What Happened and Why?" Boston, February 2009

Critic Meets Author Session on WHITE PROTESTANT NATION, Social Science History Association, November 2009

American University Faculty on the Road Lecture, "The Keys for 2012" Chicago, April 2010

Keynote Speaker, Hubert Humphrey Fellows, Arlington, Virginia October, 2010, 2011

Panel Participant, Search for Common Ground, Washington, DC, April 2011

Presentation, The Keys to the White House, International Symposium on Forecasting, June 2012

SELECTED CONFERENCES, PRESENTATIONS, & LECTURES: INTERNATIONAL

Featured Speaker, World Conference on Disarmament, Moscow, Russia, November 1986

Delegation Head, Delegation of Washington Area Scholars to Taiwan, Presented Paper on the promotion of democracy based on the American experience, July 1993

Lecture Series, American History, Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan, December 2000

Lectures and Political Consultation, Nairobi, Kenya, for RFK Memorial Institute, October 2002

Featured Lectures, US Department of State, Scotland and England, including Oxford University, University of Edinburg, and Chatham House, June 2004

Keynote Speech, American University in Cairo, October 2004

Feature Presentation on the Keys to the White House, University of Munich, June 2008

Featured Lectures, US Department of State, Russia, Ukraine, Slovenia, Austria, and Romania, 2008-2010

Paper Presentation, Fourth International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Science, Athens, Greece, July 2009

Featured Lectures, US Department of State, India, Korea, and Belgium 2012

Panel Speaker, Economic Forum, Krynica, Poland, 2013

DEPARTMENTAL AND UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Department of History Council 1973 -

Undergraduate Committee, Department of History 1973-1977

Chair Undergraduate Committee, Department of History 1984-1985

Graduate Committee, Department of History, 1978-1984

Freshman Advisor, 1973-1979

First Year Module in Human Communications, 1977-1979

University Committee on Fellowships and Awards 1976-1978

University Senate 1978-1979, 1984-1985

University Senate Parliamentarian and Executive Board 1978-1979

Founding Director, American University Honors Program, 1977-1979

Chair, College of Arts and Sciences Budget Committee 1977-1978, 1982-1984

University Grievance Committee, 1984-1985

Member, University Honors Committee 1981-1982

College of Arts and Sciences Curriculum Committee 1981-1982

Jewish Studies Advisory Board, 1982-1984

Mellon Grant Executive Board, College of Arts & Sciences, 1982-1983

Chair, College of Arts and Sciences Faculty Colloquium, 1983

Chair, College of Arts and Sciences Task Force on the Department of Performing Arts, 1984-1985

Local Arrangements Chair, National Convention of the Social Science History Association, 1983

Chair, Rank & Tenure Committee of the Department of History, 1981-1982, 1984-1985

Board Member, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, The American University, 1988-1989

Chair, Graduate Committee, Department of History, 1989 - 1991

Chair, Distinguished Professor Search Committee 1991

Member, College of Arts & Sciences Associate Dean Search Committee, 1991

Board Member, The American University Press, 1991-1995

Chair, Subcommittee on Demographic Change, The American University Committee on Middle

States Accreditation Review 1992-1994

Member, Dean's Committee on Curriculum Change, College of Arts and Sciences 1992-1993

Member, Dean's Committee on Teaching, College of Arts and Sciences 1992

Co-Chair, Department of History Graduate Committee, 1994-1995

Vice-Chair, College of Arts & Sciences Educational Policy Committee, 1994-1995

Elected Member, University Provost Search Committee, 1995-1996

Chair, Search Committee for British and European Historian, Department of History, 1996

Department Chair, 1999-2001

CAS Research Committee, 2006-2007

University Budget and Benefits Committee, 2008

Chair, Personnel Committee, Department of History, 2010-11, 2012-13

Chair, Term Faculty Search Committee, Department of History, 2011

OTHER POSITIONS

Director of Forensics, Brandeis University, 1968-71

Director of Forensics, Harvard University, 1971-72

Chair, New York-New England Debate Committee, 1970-71

Historical consultant to the Kin and Communities Program of the Smithsonian Institution
1974-1979

Along with general advisory duties, this position has involved the following activities:

1. directing a national conference on techniques for studying historical and contemporary families held at the Smithsonian in June 1976.
2. chairing a public session at the Smithsonian on how to do the history of one's own family.
3. helping to direct the Sixth International Smithsonian Symposium on Kin and Communities in America (June 1977).
4. editing the volume of essays from the symposium.

Consultant to John Anderson campaign for president, 1980.

I researched and wrote a study on "Restrictive Ballot Laws and Third-Force Presidential Candidates." This document was a major component of Anderson's legal arguments against restrictive ballot laws that ultimately prevailed in the Supreme Court (Anderson v. Celebreeze 1983). According to Anderson's attorney: "the basis for the majority's decision echoes the themes you incorporated in your original historical piece we filed in the District Court."

Statistical Consultant to the George Washington University Program of Policy Studies in Science and Technology, 1983

I advised researchers at the Policy Studies Program on the application of pattern recognition techniques to their work on the recovery of communities from the effects of such natural disasters as earthquakes and floods.

Consultant to the New York City Charter Revision Commission, 2000-2006

I analyzed the implications of non-partisan elections for voting rights issues for the Charter Revision Commissions appointed by mayors Rudy Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg.

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